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PURUSHA-SUKTA

A New approach to interpretation.

ARGUMENTS: The *Puruṣa-sūkta* (RV, X. 90—1—16) is characteristic of Vedic style being rooted in ritual terminology and yet teeming with a dominate symbolism that asserts its cosmogonic purpose in emphatic terms. Its importance has always been recognized in Indian tradition; for example as the *Bhāgavatas* who made full use of its detailed imagery with respect to *Puruṣa* as *Ananta Nārāyaṇa, Virāj* and *Hiraṇyagarbha.*

The *Ṛṣi* of the hymn is *Nārayaṇa* and the deity is *Puruṣa.* There are many arguments underlying the whole *sūkta.* Who is this *Puruṣa?* Why is he called thousand-headed? What is the meaning of thousand? What is indicated by the triple conception of heads, eyes and feet? What is the implication of *bhūmi* encompassed on all sides by *Puruṣa?* What is the meaning of *aty-atiṣṭhad?* What is *daśāṅguḷam?* What is *idam sarvam?* What is the meanıng of *amṛta* transcending *anna?* What again is the significance of *anna?* What is the omnipotent principle of *mahimā?* How is *Puruṣa* greater than his *mahimā?* What is the meaning of *tripād* and *ekapād* and of *ūrdhva* and *iha?* What is *vyakrāmat,* the procession of *Puruṣa* on all sides? What is the meaning of *śāśana* and *anaśana?*

What is *virāj* and how she was created by *Puruṣa?* Who was the *Puruṣa* created out of the union of *sahasra-sīrṣā Puruṣa* and *virāj?* How he ranges between earth and heaven? How *Puruṣa* himself became the offering in the primeval sacrifice planned by the *devas?* What is the part played by the three seasons in that *kālātmaka yajña?* What were the three components of offering in the primal sacrifice? What is the meaning of the besprinkling of the *kuśa* grass? When was the primeval *agra-Puruṣa* born? Who were the *sādhya-devas* and who were the *Ṛṣis* who made this sacrifice? What is the meaning of *sarvahut yajña* and why should there be a repetition of this sacrifice in *mantras* 8 and 9? What is the meaning of *pṛṣadājya* in the context of cosmic *yajña?* What is the principle of *paśu* and who are the threefold *paśus?* What is the significance of the three *vedas* born out of the *sarvahut* sacrifice of *Prajāpati?* What are the five sacrificial animals of *mantra* 10? What is the significance of the four social classes in *mantras* 11 and 12? What is the conception of the *virāt* from the *mantras* 13 and 14? Why should moon be related to the mind of the creator and sun to his eye? Why both *Indra* and *Agni* be associated with mouth? What is the meaning of the seven *paridhis* and of the twenty one fire-sticks? Which is the *yūpa* for fastening the *puruṣa* as animal in the sacrifice? What are the two *yajñas* and how *yajña* was performed by *yajña?* What is the meaning of *prathama*

dharma? Who are the *mahimānaḥ* and what is the meaning of *nāka*, the abode of the *sādhya-devas?*

These are the arguments which should be faced and clarified in order to understand the true significance of this *sūkta*.

SAHASRA PURUṢA—In the first *mantra sahasra* stands for the infinite universal and transcendent *Puruṣa*. He is *svayambhū*, the self-existent one, who dominates everything else in his own right as the ultimate reality and final category beyond which there is nothing to be conceived of. In the *Brāhmaṇas*, the word *sahasra* and *śata* are contrasted, the former denoting the divine and the latter the human enunciations (भूमा वै सहस्रम् ŚB. III. 33.8 परमं सहस्रम् Tāṇḍya XVI. 1.2; सर्वं वै तद्यत् सहस्रम् KB. II.5). There are two categories, *viz.*, that of the *sahasra puruṣa* and secondly that of the *daśāṅgula puruṣa*. The former is the universal, divine and immortal, and the latter the manifest and material, *Puruṣa*. A thousand here is not the double of five hundred but emphatically refers to the infinite as clearly stated in the other adaptations of this *mantra* where that *Puruṣa* is refered to as *viśvatomukha*, *viśvatascakṣus*, *visvataspād* (RV. X. 81. 3)

THREEFOLD PURUṢA—Heads, eyes and feet are symbolical of three points of view with respect of the creative act. Either we look at the cosmos in its source in the unmanifest (*śiromūlā-dṛṣti*) or in its finite form in the manifest (*pādamūla-dṛṣti*), or in the synthesis of the two where the *cākṣuṣa-puruṣa* stands for the composite symbol of the divine and material manifestation. It is a reference to the threefold nature of *Puruṣa* which is the basis of the cosmos. The *svayambhū puruṣa* originally is an introvert principle with only one centre, having withdrawn all its *mahimā* into his womb, but for the sake of creation he becomes tricentric (*trinābhi*), *i.e.*, splits himself into two and in order to keep them separate stands between them as the third. The vedic triad of the *devas, lokas* and *vedas* are exemplified in the triple *puruṣa*. In the second line of the *mantra*, *bhūmi* or earth is inseparable with *dyauḥ* which, although not mentioned, is certainly implied. *Dyāvābhūmī* is the unit of individual manifestation enveloped on all sides by the transcendent *deva*. The *daśāṅgula-puruṣa* is the individuated *deva*, the manifested person standing on ten fingers of the feet. The transcendent divinities (*adhiṣṭhānā devatāḥ*) are *Agni, Vāyu* and *Āditya* whose divine majestics enter the *daśāṅguḷa puruṣa* standing on the earth in material manifestation.

IDAM SARVAM—*Idam sarvam* stands for the visible creation or material world, its complete identity with *Puruṣa* is here intended, both in spatial and temporal projections; within these time space relata or the cosmos is in the grip of death. There is an *amṛta* or immortal Reality, which transcends the cosmos or *anna*. All matter is food (*anna*) and all *prāṇa* is the eater of food (*annāda*), the former is mortal and the latter is *amṛta*.

MAHIMĀ. In *mantra* 3 *mahimā* refers to the majesty or greatness of the created cosmos within the categories of space and time. There is no

end to the greatness of *Puruṣa*, both in the microcosmic form as spread in the vast stellar spaces, and within the minute particles of matter. They are inscrutable either to the human mind or to the instruments of science. Indeed all speech falls short in expressing the infinite nature of the universe visible to us. Silence, eternity, *plenum*, *pūrṇam*, *amṛtam* are some of the supra-principles applicable to *Puruṣa*, the truth of whose being is infinitely greater than his nature.

TRIPĀD—It is usual to speak of *Puruṣa* or Brahman as four-footed; one fourth of Him is measured out as the cosmos and three fourths of Him transcends all manifestation. The *tripād* is also called *ūrdhva* and *amṛta* and in this course the cosmic *tree of existence* has its root. If we look at Brahman as the immortal source we speak of Him as comprised of three parts and of the cosmos as one part. This relationship is reversed when the world is said to represent the three feet of Brahman and the Absolute Reality is said to be symbolized as the fourth feet. As a matter of fact several arithmetical statements are valid: *e.g.*, if the Absolute Brahman is one thousand, the relative worlds are one part of Him. Some times the immortal brahman is spoken of as one half and the mortal world as the other half. All this is included under the *parāvara-vidyā* in which the two relative categories stand out as the upper and lower; without this division the categories of space and time would not come into existence.

DYĀVĀ-PṚTHIVĪ—In *mantra* 4 an all round procession of *Puruṣa* is predictated. This refers to an over-ridding movement as the basic impulse of creation which worked out the divisions of space and time as a simultaneous action. The two words *sāśana and anaśana* refer to animate and inanimate being, typifying the two-fold division of *cara* and *acara*. or *amṛta* and *martya* or *deva* and *bhūta*.

In verse 5 there is reference to the creation of *Virāj*, the Mother principle or universal infinite nature, also called *mahat* and *yoni*, the womb which receives the seed of creation from *svayambhū* or the self-existent Brahman, or the thousand-headed *Puruṣa*. *Svayambhū* is also called *svarāṭ* in contrast to this opposite principle of *Virāj*. *Virāj* is also called *parameṣṭhī* and *ṛta* or *soma* or *āpaḥ*. The two principles of *Svayambhū* and *Virāj* enter into union as father and mother, and give birth to the next *puruṣa* called *daśāṅguḷa*, or *vairāja* (son of *Virāj*) also named *vairāja Manu* exemplified in each individual manifest form.

MEANING OF VIRĀJ AND NĀRĀYAṆA—In this context three categories should be clearly distinguished, the first is *svayambhū*, the second *virāj* and the third *vairāja puruṣa*. The first is the father, the second is the mother and the third is the son. Both the first two are unmanifest, but the son as *sūrya* and *vaiśvānara* is manifest. There is also another pair of names preserved in the conception of *Nārāyaṇa Puruṣa*, often explained in the *Purāṇas* and the

Bhāgavata tradition. According to this the father-principle *svayambhū* is called *nara*, the mother-principle *virāj* is called *nāra* which is the same as *āpaḥ*, the waters or *soma-parameṣṭhī* (cf. *āpo vai nara-sūnavaḥ*, Manu). The offspring produced by the union of these two universal parents is called *Nārāyaṇa* who is the same as *Sūrya, Hiraṇayagarbha, Manu, Agni, Indra, Prāṇa*, etc. Once the validity of these definitions is clearly grasped there would be little difficulty in understanding the Puranic statements about Nārāyaṇa as the person of the root of cosmogonic formulation. The following verse of Manu states the position clearly:—

आपो नारा इति प्रोक्ता आपो वै नरसूनवः ।
ता यदस्यायनं प्रोक्तं तस्मान्नारायणः स्मृतः ॥ I. 10.

Nara-nāra-nārāyaṇa is the unified *sūtra* of the triple principle of creation. Both in its transcedent and immanent aspects every organism, cell, minute particle of matter, solar-system or vast expanded universe has its archetypal form in the *Nārāyaṇa-Hiraṇyagarbha* principle. The principle of life that is quick in its centre is Nārāyaṇa. He is the son of *Virāj* and spoken of as *vairāja Manu*, referred to in the *mantra* as *virāja adhi pūruṣaḥ*. The various names of one and the same principle here implied under *vairāja* are recounted in the following verse of Manu:—

एतमेके वदन्त्यग्निं मनुमन्ये प्रजापतिम् ।
इन्द्रमेके परे प्राणमपरे ब्रह्म शाश्वतम् ॥ XII. 123

AGRA-JĀTA PURUṢA—The second half of *mantra* 5 is a bit involved in construction and also meaning. The word *jāta* here refers to the son of *Virāj* known as *vairāja Puruṣa* or *Manu*, or *Hiraṇyagarbha*. In Ṛgveda X. 121.1, Hiraṇyagarbha is named as *jāta* and said to be *bhūtapati, i.e.*, the principle of *prāṇa* as manifested in matter. Each organism is a type of *bhūtapati, jāta, hiraṇyagarbha* and *vairāja*. *Jāta* also means a babe and the manifested *prāṇa* is spoken of in the *Brāhmaṇās* as *kumāra*. Each *kumāra* creates for himself a *dyāvāpṛthivī* as his range of functioning both from within as centre and outside it with the immortal divine principle enveloping on all sides. This is referred to by the phrase *bhūmi* which also implies *dyauḥ*, or by *paścāt* and *purastāt* which form a pair. *Dyauḥ* is *purastāt* and *bhūmi* is *paścāt*, symbolically the two halves of the single egg in which the golden germ finds its new habitation for a full session of life. This babe represents the principle of *prāṇa* mentioned as *devāṇām asuḥ*. (RV. X. 121. 7). The manifestation of the life-force from its embrionic centre of source is conceived of as a welling out of the reserves of force referred to as *atyaricyata*, also *pra ririce*, (RV. I. 164). As gushing flood of energy the life-force swells outwards as well as inwards touching the mortal and immortal levels, the one in matter referred to as *mahitvā* and the other linked to the divine majesty as *mahnā*

(RV. I. 164. 25: *tato mahnā pra ririche mahitvā*). The dynamic life-force has several names, one of them being *gāyatra* also conceived of on two levels, *viz.*, material and divine (*yad gāyatre adhi gāyatram āhitam*, RV. I. 164. 23). When born life-centre or the babe begins to unfold its possibilities of manifestation in three successive stages named as the three metres or the three fuel-sticks whose blazing trail is life (*gāyatrasya samidas tisra āhuḥ*, ibid.)

PRIMEVAL YAJÑA—Mantra 6 envisages a primeval sacrifice with the person as offering. This *puruṣa* is the *deva* principle mentioned several times in other *mantras*, *e.g.*, *yad deva devam ayajanta viśve* (RV. X. 130. 3). This primeval *yajña* is organised by all the gods (*devā yajñam atanvata*), the thousand -headed *Puruṣa* offers himself as the omniform oblation in this first sacrifice. He as the transcendent *Puruṣa* creates all the the subsequent forms. He is called *prathamacchad*, the archetypal, and sets the norm for all those who follow his model (*avarān āviveśa*). The foundation or the basic pattern of the sacrifice is that of trinity, symbolized here as the three seasons—*vasanta*, *grīṣma*, and *śarad* which form the three spokes of the rotating wheel of time or *samvatsara*. These correspond to the three elements of *dravyayajña*, *viz.*, butter, fuel and offering. The supreme nature of *yajña* is exemplified in manifold triads of which we have been speaking. The three gods, *Vasus*, *Rudras* and *Ādityas* also make up the integrated corpus of this wheel. Even so, the three *devas Agni*, *Vāyu* and *Āditya*, the three *lokas*, *pṛīthivī*, *antarikṣa* and *dyauḥ*, the three metres, *gāyatrī*, *triṣṭup* and *jagatī*, the three pressings in the sacrifice, the three priests, the three *prāṇas* are some of the trinitarian principles of cosmic manifestation which lie at the door of the creative rhythm.

SECONDARY YAJÑA—A clear idea of the second *yajña* is given in *mantra* 7 where *puruṣa*, *jāta*, *agra* and *yajña* are corresponding entities, all referring to the principle of *vairāja puruṣa* or *vairāja Manu* to which we have already referred as *Hiraṇyagarbha* and *Nārāyaṇa*.

BARHIS AND PRAJĀ—This Manu was Prajāpati and all the *prajās* or creatures were created by him; a reference to this occurs in the first part of the *mantra* तं यज्ञं बर्हिषि प्रौक्षन् where the word *barhis* stands for *praja* as explained in the Brāhmaṇa literature (KB. 5.7.18.10. TB. 1.6.310; SB. 1.5.3.16; 2.6.1. 13; 4.4.5.14; GB. 1.1.24): *Barhis* is also *paśu* and *auṣadhi* (AB. 5.28; SB. 1.3. 3.9; 1.8.2.11.; 1.9.2.29.; TB. 2.1.5.1.). All the *prajās* or creatures that are born are in the nature of men, animals and plants, for the simple reason that there is a uniform law of life at all these three levels and each one of them depends for its sustenance on food or *soma*. *Barhis* is, therefore, the manifest form of *Agni* or the life-principle on the plane of matter. The birth of Manu is accompanied by the creation of *prajās* or manifold forms. Each *prajā* is like an offshoot of the cosmic tree kept green by the sap called *soma*. The word *praukṣan* is significant in this contest, of minute cellular structures whose biological efficiency is derived from the sap or secretions which saturate them and are known to us under so many scientific names, jointly referred to as

rasātmaka soma (*puṣṇāmi chauṣadhīḥ sarvāḥ. somo bhūtvā rasātmakaḥ*, Gitā, 15. 13). *Barhis* is strewn on the alter of the sacrifice representing as it were the intricate grid for the flow of energy and secretions which predominate the sacrificial system. The two principles of *barhis* and *prokṣaṇa* are essential for the performance of the sacrifice.

SĀDHYA DEVAS—The primeval sacrifice of the first *puruṣa* was laid out by the *sādhya devas* and the *Ṛṣis*. There are two things here to be specially noted, namely that the word *sādhya* is an epithet of *deva* and secondly that there is a distinction between *deva* and *Ṛṣi*. The *Ṛṣis* represent the principle of mind or of *prāṇa* called *asat*, (SB. 6.1.1.1) and the *sādhya-devas* of the principle of *prāna* called *sat i.e.*, life as becoming manifest in matter, as explained in the *Śatapatha Brahmaṇa*-("*prāṇād vai sādhyā devās. ta etāni* (*Prajāpatim*) *agra evam asādhayan*" 10.2.2.3.). These are the different stages in the creative process, the first is that of ideas or the mind also referred to as *ṛṣi, chandas, veda*, etc., mentioned in *mantra* 9. This is called the *asat-sṛṣti*. and the subsequent one is the *sat-ṣṛti* in which the principle of mind descends to the level of matter. The first one is the *pūrva-yuga* and the second the *uttara-yuga* (RV. X. 72.1.2.)

The word *sādhya* as an epithet of *deva* signifies the primieval powers or the archetypal principles, *i.e.*, the differentiated forms emanating from an undifferentiated source. The *sādhya devas* are conceived of as *pūrva devas i.e.*, the divine powers latent in the source, beyond material modification, said to be the perfected ones in comparison to the angelic powers of *devas* that enter into the act of creation. The abode of *sādhya devas* is the region of *nāka*, a place of eternal bliss and happiness unaffected by any kind of material stress or modification (RV. X. 90.16)

ANIMALS—The two kinds of creations at mortal levels are explicitly mentioned in verses 8 and 9, the lower one is *paśusṛṣṭi* (verse 8) and the higher one is *veda-sṛṣṭi* (verse 9). In modern terms we may refer to them as form and idea. Both of them are two *yajñas*, the one productive of the other and thus completing the rhythm—*yajñena yajñam ayajanta devāḥ* (RV. X. 90.16) Both of these respectively refer to the conscious mind and the super mind which interact on each other and become effective in an endless dynamism as seen in the manifestation of life. For creating manifest animal form some kind of germinal seed is essentially required which is referred to as *prṣadājyam* (*mantra* 8).

SHOWER OF BUTTER—Its literal meaning is a shower of the minute particles of butter or *ghṛta*. The symbolism of butter has been explained in an earlier lecture. *Ghṛta* is the symbol of the fecundating germ by which the animal form is begotten and which is identified with *agni*. *Agni* is the seed and *soma* is the mother or womb, and the union of the two is essential for generating living forms. In the beginning of creation there existed the mother-principle in the form of *āpaḥ* or waters, which were churned by the

primeval world-building forces as a result of which the principle of heat came into existence. This was *agni*, the deity of the cosmic *yajña* or the seed through which all the divine powers became effective in creation. This is a kind of *agnisambharaṇa* or the collecting of the minute particles of *agni* round the centre which becomes visible as the primeval heat (*agraja-tapas. abhīdha-tapas* देवौप्य). The process by which the virile power of the two parents is refined in their bodies is not different from what happened in the beginning of the creative act, *i.e.*, the seed or *ghṛta* was churned from the milk of the cosmic cow called *virāj* as has been pointed out earlier. Conversion of water into milk is the symbol of motherhood. In the beginning existed an ocean of water or *soma* which later on became an ocean of milk as soon as the principle of *Hiraṇyagarbha* or *Nārāyaṇa* incarnated within it. This is the meaning of the Puranic legend of Nārāyaṇa-Viṣnu, abiding in an ocean of milk for the sake of releasing his power into creativity. In milk the globules of butter exist in minutest form and may be counted in millions and billions which by churning become solidified as butter. The same imagery is invoked in the present *mantra*. It should not be forgotten that the cow or the mother fulfils her purpose only when it is sired by the male principle. With germinal fertilization only the mother becomes fertile otherwise she is futile. The birth of the son in the mother's womb is the result of the germinal cell that enters into the womb by mating with the father. This type of physical creation is the object of *mantra* 8.

The biological person is a *paśu*. In the *agnicayana* ceremony or building of the fire-altar this is symbolized as *paśavya citi*. The animals described here are of three classes, *viz.*, of the air, forest and village. This is not to be taken literally since evidently other classes of animals like those living in water have been omitted. It is a symbolical reference to the three types of energy (of the *prāṇa*) which enters into the constitution of each animal form. The symbolism is not difficult to understand, *e.g.*, the *grāmya paśus* stand for the five material elements which live and move together in a herd. The animals of the air refer to the principle of vital air (*prāṇa*), and the animals of the forest which roam free at will refer to the principle of mind. Obviously, each living being is the composite form of mind, life and matter.

In *mantra* 9 there is a reference to the creation of the principle of *Veda*, *viz.*, the thought of the Creator as expressed in *Ṛk*, *Yajus* and *Sāma*, the three *Vedas*, as well as the metres (*chandāmsi*) of the *Atharva Veda*. The first three *Vedas* symbolize the principle of the three fires and the fourth of *soma*.

After describing the two-fold *sarvahuta yajña* of the Creator on the plane of mind and matter, the *Ṛṣi* reverts to the five-fold sacrificial animals, namely *puruṣa aśva*, *gauḥ* and *ajāvayaḥ*. These five typify the five-fold vibrations of *prāṇa*, for example, the animal with teeth on both sides is *puruṣa* in whom all the different forms of motion are perfectly balanced against the substratum of rest. The horse is the dominant symbol of movement leading away from

the centre. It is the animal dear to Indra. The cow is the symbol of the force coming from outside to the centre *i.e.*, the centripetal or introvert movement. The horse symbolizes *Agni* and *Indra*, the cow is the symbol of *Soma* and *Viṣnu*.

PAÑCA-PAŚUS—The five animals in this list are all types of movements. The *puruṣa* of the synthesis of the five motions, the horse of centrifugal motion, the cow of centripetal motion the sheep of slow motion and the goat of accelerated motion. This is one kind of classification of the animals; another one has just been referred to in *mantra* 8. The third classification is that of the bipeds and quadrupeds in which the former symbolize the basic duality of creation and the latter its four-fold division into *ekapād* and *tripād*.

FOUR-FOLD SOCIAL TYPES—*Mantras* 11 and 12 refer to the division of the *puruṣa* into a fourfold pattern of manifestation as *brāhmaṇa*, *rājanya*, *vaiśya* and *śūdra*, or which is the same as head, arms, thigh and feet. This is a functional scheme essentially integrated and without referring to any social privileges as is often assumed. The spiritual power (*brahma*) and the temporal power (*kṣatra*) represent the dual type of the functioning force as present in every centre of consciousness. From them emanate the sensory and motor organs, or the legislative and executive orders of the state. It may be mentioned that the diversified arrangement of the *puruṣa* offered in the sacrifice is referred to by such terms as *vyadadnuḥ vyakalpayan vitiṣṭhe*, *viṣṭhitam*, where the idea invariably is that of the one becoming the many under the strees of its creative potency.

THREE LOKAS—*Mantras* 13 and 14 refer to the well known conception of the *virāṭ* form of *prajāpati* which is frequently elaborated in the later puranic literature. The beginnings of the conception are formulated here (*tatha lokāṅ akalpayan*). Here two different groupings may be detected, the one based on the three fold division of *pṛithivī*, *antarikṣa* and *dyauḥ viz.*, the three *lokas* which typify one of the most potent triads of Vedic symbolism. Space and time are the twofold extensions of the creative act and each is symbolized as a tried. As a matter of fact the single original centre of all the forces converts itself into a tricentric form, *i.e.*, the one *nābhi* becomes *trināb hi*· This is represented in the *puruṣa* as the head, navel and feet.

PAÑCA PRĀṆAS—The other basis of division has reference to the five *prāṇas* which in the *Vedas* and the *upaniṣads* are reckoned as *manas*, *śrotra*, *Prāṇa*, *cakṣus* and *vāk*. These are the several organs (*indriyas*) of Indra or centra vital consciousness. *Manas* or mind refers to the *avyaya puruṣa*, which is virtually its quintescence and *śrotra* is its surplus form or refuse (*pravargya*). The creative process is a kind of *tapas* or heating in which the refined portion is conceived of as the mind or consciousness and its refuge or dross as space or the directions. Similarly, the *akṣara puruṣa* is subjected to *tapas* and

creates out of himself the twin principles of *prāṇa* and *cakṣus*. Finally the *kṣara puruṣa* creates the principle of *vāk* only referred to here as the mouth. *Vāk* is gross matter there being no subtle refinement of it. Each of these is associated with one single *deva*. But the mouth with two *devas Indra* and *Agni*. The mouth is the symbol of *vāk* or matter, the five gross elements. Although one, it is conceived of as the composite form of the immortal and the mortal, former as *Indra* and the latter as *Agni*. The one mouth is functionally completed by the two jaws (*nānā hanū bibhrte sambharete*, RV. X. 79.1). Thus, these two *māntras* introduce us to the threefold and fivefold manifestations of the undifferentiated transcendent Reality. The cosmic *yajña* is described both in terms of triplication (*trivṛt karaṇa*) and quintiplication (*pañcīkaraṇa*) (Rv. X. 124. 1.) *Imam no agna upa yajñam ehi pañca-yāmam trivrtam saptatantum*). The one absolute *Puruṣa* becomes three for the sake of manifest creation as *aja* (*avyaya*), *akṣara* and *kṣara*, *i.e.*, *mind*, *life* and matter (*manas-prāna-vāk*). Each of these three develops a fivefold course (*pañcayāma*), so that the *avyaya Puruṣa* or mind develops the five sheaths (*Pañcakośas*). The *akṣara puruṣa* develops the *pañca-prāṇās* and the *kṣara puruṣa* evolves the five gross elements of matter. In this way the one *Puruṣa* becomes the *soḍaśi puruṣa*, that is to say *nabhya Indra* becomes *soḍaśi Indra*. That is how *Prajāpati* which was *anirukta* and *amūrṭa* becomes *nirukta* and *mūrta*, *i.e.*, the formless and unmanifest becomes formed and manifested; or the *Hiraṇyagarbha* assumes its greatness (*mahimā*) and extends up to the region of *nāka* or heaven.

PURUṢA PAŚU—The transcendent *Puruṣa* who is mentioned as thousand-headed is the same as *yajña*. All the other gods represent his immortal and mortal powers and they organize the cosmic *yajña* in which the transcendent is sacrificed as an offering (*devā yad yajñam tanvānā*). What happens is that they create a *puruṣa paśu*, *i.e.*, the transcendent *puruṣa* becomes immanent in matter, the immortal becomes manifest as mortal. This is known as *puruṣa paśu*. Each animal form is material on the one hand but is an emblem of the immortal on the other. The divine becomes concreatised in a material body and this conception is referred to as the composite form of *puruṣa* and *paśu*. Each *puruṣa-paśu* is fastened or bound to a centre referred to as the state (*yūpa*), Pillar (*skambha*), *Vanaspati*, the *Axis Mundi*, the fulcrum of the cosmos which is its *brahmasūtra*. This is also known as the *vāṇa* or *udumbara*. In the *Brahma Purāṇa* where an elaborate explanation of the *puruṣa-sūkta* is embodied (Ch. 161), eternal Time (*nitya-kāla*) is said to be the stable pillar to which Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu suffers himself to be tied as the sacrificial animal.

VEDI AND PARIDHI—The altar of the cosmic *yajña* is as vast as the earth, where *pṛthivī* symbolizes the creative principles of mother-hood that measures out the *yajña*. Its seven-fold sheaths (*sapta paridhayaḥ*) are the principles of mind, life and the five elements of matter. The *paridhis* represent

the principle of envelopment which is essential to create a container for the mighty principle of life so long as it abides in matter. The conception of the six directions of space and of the triple *lokas* is related to that of the *paridhis* (AB. 528, *diśaḥ paridhayaḥ ime vai lokāḥ paridhayaḥ*, TB 3.8.814). The number seen is significant and brings in the various heptads familiar in Vedic thought. The *Ṛgveda* refers also to the seven directions of space (RV. IV. 13.3) and also to *saptadhāma*, seven stations (RV. 1. 22. 16), of which the lowest is *pṛthivī* or *bhūḥ* and the highest is *satyam* (also RV. X. 122. 3). We also find a reference to the seven boundaries (*sapta maryādāḥ*) (RV. X. 56). The number thrice-seven (*tri-sapta*, RV. IX. 86. 21) is also symbolical, the former referring to the seven-fold *suparṇa-citi* and the latter to the threefold *puruṣa*. The life in the person is conceived of as the *gāyatra* chant and it is said to complete course in its three fuel-sticks (*gāyatrasya samidhas tisra āhuḥ*, RV. 1. 164.25). The number of seven refers to manifestation on the plane of matter and three to that on the plane of *prāṇa*, or the lower and the higher *prakṛtis* respectively. Both are integrated, so that the *puruṣa yajña* envisaged in this *sūkta* may be possible. The human body or the living organism is the object of the symbolical enunciations.

The last *mantra* refers to the primeval ordinances (*prathama-dharma*) by which creation takes place at two levels both being styled as *yajñas*. The one is the *sarvahut yajña* of ideas and the other of form, the one of *prāṇa* and the other of *bhūta*, the one of the *devas* and the other of the *prajās*, the one *amūrta* and the other *mūrta*, etc. Human life is the composite result of the co-existence of these two principles.

NĀKA—The mid-point of consciousness separating the one from the other is termed *nāka* and the three *lokas* are the *mahimānaḥ* or majesties of the three gods, *Agni*, *Vāyu*, and *Āditya*, which extend from earth to heaven. On the ridge of heaven or *nāka* is the linking point of consciousness or *prāṇa* which remains in contact on the other side with the transcendent, and at the same time feeds the material manifestation in the three *lokas* on the lower side of *Sūrya*. The archetypal powers (*sādhya devāḥ*) have their abode at the point which separates the transcendent from the immanent.

The *Bhāgavata* rightly connects the *Hiraṇyagarbha* doctrine with that of the *Virāt-puruṣa*. The primeval egg with its inherent possibilities of manifesting mind (*vaikārika* or *jñāna-śakti*), *prāṇa* (*taijasa or kriyā śakti*) and matter (*tamas or dravya-śakti*), floated for a thousand years in the Infinite Ocean, and then the universal *Virāṭ-puruṣa* was born from it. The cosmos is like a span (*vitasti*) in comparison to the *puruṣa* who creates all that was in the past and will ever be in future. It is *puruṣa* who heats the *virāj* both from inside and from outside and the cosmic egg is born out of it. The whole universe exists in God Nārāyaṇa (*Nārāyaṇe bhagavati tadidam viśvam āhitam*, *Bhāgavata*, 2.6.30.) *Nārāyaṇa* takes the form of the three *Vedas*, three *metres* and three *devas*. *Ab intra* he was free from all attributes, but *ab extra* he became

possessed with three qualities essential for manifestation. He is the lord of all the *Prajāpatis* or creative divine powers. He is the lord of *amṛta* and transcends that which is *martya* in the form of *anna* or the worlds which are the food of the God of Death.

The *Brahma Purāṇa* (chapter 161) also offers a commentary on the *Puruṣa-sūkta*. Brahmā in the beginning of creation did not know what to do; then he heard the divine speech persuading him to perform a *yajña* which is the best form of *Viṣṇu* (*yajno vai viṣṇur ityeṣā srutir Brahman sanātanī, Brahma Purāna*, 161. 15). As soon as Brahmā heard, this the entire meaning of the *Vedas* dawned on him and after turning half of himself as female he collected the paraphernalia of *yajña*, including butter, firesticks, oblations, strew, metres, utensils, etc. Eternal time became the pillar in the sacrifice (*yūpa*) and the three *guṇas* became the ropes to fasten the animal (161.38), but there was no animal. Again the heavenly voice was heared asking Brahmā to invoke the Supreme Divine Lord. Brahmā did so by means of the *Puruṣa-sūkta* and realizing the thousand-headed *puruṣa*, his own father and creator who was already fastened to the time-stake by the power of the three *guṇas*, made a sacrifice of that *puruṣa* and then the whole creation was born. The world with all its forms is *yajña-deva* himself. The place where this primal sacrifice took place is said to be the famous holy centre named *kuśatarpaṇa-tīrtha* where the river Praṇahitā mingles its waters with Gautamī or Godāvarī. (*Brahma purāṇa*, ch. 161).

The above is a version of the cosmic sacrifice of *Nārāyaṇa-Puruṣa* to suit a Puranic audience. A significant statement is the identification of the sacrificial pillar with absolute time (*nitya-kāla*). In the *Puruṣa-sūkta* itself it is tacitly referred to as the revolving wheel of *samvatsara* comprised of the three seasons—spring, summer and autumn. In the making of this world a two-fold process is simultaneously visible, namely, the movement of time and how time deals with matter. The former is symbolized as *kāla-cakra* (*kālātmaka yajña*) and the latter as *bhāva-cakra* or *brahma-cakra* (*dravyātmaka-yajña*). Both are essential for creation as the glory and power of *Nārāyaṇa-Puruṣa*.

K. Kunjunni Raja

Allophones of the Dental Nasal in Sanskrit*

A fourteenth century discussion

In the *Līlātilaka*, a fourteenth century sanskrit work on the Maṇipravāḷa language and literature in Malayalam, there is an interesting discussion on the South Indian pronunciation of the Sanskrit dental nasal.[1] With convincing arguments based on articulatory and functional differences, it is proved that in Malayalam there are two distinct nasal sounds, the dental /n/ and the blade-alveolar/n̪/ which have to be accepted as separate phonemes.[2] Having established this, the author says that in Kerala a similar difference is observed even in the articulation of dental nasal/n/; but this alternation in pronunciation is based on the position of the letter in the word, and cannot, therefore, be taken as an evidence to show that the two are distinct sound units in sanskrit. They are only accidental positional variations of the same sound, or allophones of the same phoneme (in modern linguistic terminology). Moreover, the author points out, if the two sounds are taken as distinct units in sanskrit, on the basis of the difference in articulation, there will be a lot of complication in the application of Pāṇini's grammatical rules, especially in the rules on cerebralization of dentals under certain conditions. Thus if the dental and blade-alveolar nasals are distinguished as separate phonemes, the cerebralization ordained by Pāṇini's rule *raṣābhyām no ṇah samānapade* (VIII. 4.1) will not be applicable to the alveolar nasal/n̪/ sanctioned by the rule *yuvoranākau* (VII. 1.1) in words like *karaṇa* and *haraṇa;* for in the former rule *no* is pronounced as a pure dental, whereas *anākau* in the latter rule is pronounced as a blade-alveolar. If the two are not taken as the same phoneme, the form *-ana* in *karaṇa*, etc., cannot be cerebralized by the first rule.

Regarding the allophonic variation in the articulation of the sanskrit dental nasal in Kerala, the author refers to a general saying:

> 'nakārasya ṇakāratvam nakāreṇa yutasya ca
> halānyena yutam tadvat padādau ca sthitham vinā'

which states that the dental nasal has an alveolar pronunciation, when alone or in gemination except at the beginning of a word and in combination with other consonants.

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1. For a general discussion of the Kerala pronunciation of Sanskrit see K. Kunjunni Raja, "Kerala Pronunciation of sanskrit," *Adyar Library Bulletin;* Jubilee volume (25) pp. compare also M. B. Emenean, '*Nasal Phonemes in Sanskrit*' Language, volume 22.

2. See also K. Kunjunni Raja, 'Nasal Phonemes in Malayāḷam,' *Indian Linguistics*. volume XXI.

This is a statement of the general pronunciation which is found in Kerala even now, with minor exceptions.[3] The author of the *Līlātilaka* has also pointed out that this peculiar feature of sanskrit pronunciation is not found in the Tamil country (Coḷadeśa).[4]

The text of the passage in the *Līlātilaka*[5] and a free English translation are given below:—

"nanu n̠akāraḥ katham tamiḷ eva bhavati? dṛśyate khalvayam samskṛte, pi. Satyam. Kim tu samskṛte etau arthabhedāya na bhavataḥ.. avaṇāmaḥ avanāmaḥ, upaṇyāsaḥ upanyāsaḥ ityādau. bhāṣāyām imāvarthabhedakau; Yatha 'Kāṇka nāvil', 'kāṇ kaṇāvil ityādi. Nanu samskṛte' py asāvartha bhedakau. nānā ityukte hi ekadā puruṣaḥ puruṣa iti, anyadhā aneka iti ca pratīteḥ. maivam. prakarṇādi vaśāt tatrārthabhedaḥ, nānayor bhedāt. anyathā karaṇa haraṇādau yuvoranākav ity anena kṛtasya na ityasya ṇatvam na syāt. uccāraṇa bhedas tu kākatālīyaḥ. evamvidhavyavahāra mūlam eva

nakāraśya n̠akāratvam nakāreṇa yutaśya ca |
halānyena yutam tadvat Padādau ca sthitam Vinā ||

iti vacanam. aśya nyāyaśya coḷeṣu vyabhicāradarśanāt. Yattu bhāṣāyām api 'coṇṇān' ity atra śrutibhede py arthābhedo dṛśyate tad aprayojakam. 'vannān', 'ponnān', ityādau tadbhede anyatarabhāge arthāpratīteh. tasmād bhāṣāyām anayor arthabhedaḥ siddhaḥ. sthāna bhedo pyasti. nakāraśya dantaḥ sthānam. karaṇam tu tadā jihvāyā vistārah. n̠akāraśya mūrdhā. tatra jihvāgraśyonnatiḥ. samskṛte etam bhedam aprayojakīkṛtya dantasahitanāsika bhavatvam evoktam. ataḥ sthitam etad arthabhedāvasāyāl laḷayor iva naṇayor bhāṣāyām bhedo' stīti"

"Now how is it that the letter *n̠* is only in the Dravidian language? It is actually found in sanskrit also. True, But in sansirit these two (*n̠* and n) do not make any difference in meaning: as in avaṇāmaḥ avanāmaḥ upaṇyāsaḥ upanyāsaḥ. In Kerala language (Malayalam) these produce difference in meaning as in kāṇ kaṇāvil (see in dream) and kāṇka nāvil (see on the tongue).[6]

3. This is the case in Malayāḷam also. clusters of nasal with dental plosives are naturally dental.

4. This also indicates that even by that time the distinction in pronunciation between dental /n/ and blade alveolar /n̠/ in Tamil (preserved in the script even now) had been lost.

5. *Līlātilakam:* (With Malayāḷam translation by Elankuḷam Kunhan pillai; second edition, 1958. National Book stall, Kottayam) Ch. II.

6. It may be noted, however, that in the minimal pair given the difference in the position of the word juncture is ignored. It is also the same case in the pair given for sanskrit (nā nā/ nān̠ā).

If it is contended that in Sanskrit also these make difference in meaning, since 'nā nā' means 'a man a man,' and 'ṇā ṉā' means 'many,' we reply that it is not so: there the difference in meaning is due to the difference in the context etc., not to the difference (in the pronunciation) of the letters. Otherwise in words like *karaṇa* and *haraṇa*, the letter n ordained by the rule *yuvor anākau* will not change to the retroflex ṇ. The difference (observed) in the articulation is accidental. It is because of this tradition that there is the statement

'The letter n changes to ṉ when alone or in gemination except at the beginning of a word or when in conjunction with another letter.' And we find exception to this rule in the coḷa country.

It may, however, be said in Keraḷa bhāṣā itself in *conmān* (or coṉṉān) even when there is difference in pronunciation, there is no difference in meaning. But that is not significant. In words like *vannān* and *ponmān* when the nasal is changed and the other one used the meaning does not become manifest. Therefore it is established that there is difference in meaning (functional difference) between the two in Keraḷa bhāṣā.

There is also the difference in articulation. The place of articulation for n is the teeth. and the articulator is the tongue spread; for ṉ the place of articulation is the palate (the alveolar ridge) and there the tip of the tongue has to be raised. In sanskrit neglecting as insignificant this difference, it is only the nasality together with dental aspect that is given. Thus it is established that because of functional difference there is (phonemic) difference in the Keraḷa bhāṣā between n and ṉ, just as between l and ḷ

M. Rama Rao

EARLY TEMPLES OF ANDHRADESA

The origin of the structural Hindu temple is still shrouded in mystery. The earliest available examples are mostly of brick. The foundations of a Viṣṇu temple have been unearthed at Bhopal and this shrine is assigned to the second century B.C.[1] There is a gap of several centuries after this and the next known group of Hindu brick temples in northern India are the temples of Bhitargaon in the Cawnpore district, ascribed to the fifth century A.D., two dilapidated temples at Ter in the Sholāpūr district, assigned to a date slightly later than the fifth century, the Gupta temples of Tigāwa, assigned to the first half of the fifth century, the Śiva shrine at Bhumāra and the Pārvatī temple at Nāchna, both said to have been erected probably before 500 A.D., and the Deogarh temple of early sixth century.[2] All subsequent developments in temple architecture in northern India are traced to these few Gupta structures. In northern Karṇāṭaka, the temple building movement originated at Aihole about the beginning of the fifth century A.D. and flourished for about three centuries. The oldest buildings of this group are the Lād khān temple and the temples of the Koṇṭ guḍi group, assigned to the middle of the fifth century.[3] The earliest Hindu temples in the Tamil country are a series of cave temples, whose excavation was started by the Pallava king, Mahendravarman I and continued by his successors towards the end of the first quarter of the seventh century and a group of monolithic temples, known as the *Rathas* belonging to the Māmalla period, in the third and fourth quarters of the seventh century and three structural examples, the Shore temple of Mahābalipuram and the Kailāsanātha and Vaikuṇṭha-perumāḷ temples of Kāñci, all belonging to the Rājasimha period of the early half of the eighth century.[4]

The case is different with regard to Āndhradeśa. Recent excavations have brought to light enough material to show that the temple building movement was in vogue in this region from about the first quarter of the third century A.D. Keeping this important fact in view and another, equally important, *viz.*, that the Buddhists were active raising numerous monuments in their *tīrthas* and that many of these buildings were in tact till as late as the middle of the seventh century, when Hieun Shwang saw them, and also considering the high probability of the *rathas* of Mahābalipuram being reproductions in stone of the principal types of buildings that existed at the

1. Brown—*Indian Architecture*, Ch. IX.
2. *ibid.*, Ch. X.
3. *ibid.*, p. 63.
4. *Ancient India*, No. PP.

time, it is possible to trace the temple building activity in Āndhradeśa to very early times.

I. TEMPLE PROTOTYPES.

The large number of sculptured slabs that once adorned the *stūpas* of Amarāvati, Gkli, Jaggayyapeṭa, Rāmireḍḍipalli and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, in Āndhradeśa, throw a flood of light in this connection. These sculptures depict life in all its aspects and contain numerous buildings of varieḍ forms, plans and designs, suggestive of the plans and general features of later Hindu temples. The *bahirdvāraśālā* in one of the Amarāvati sculptures with a moulded *kapota* above the walls and a *śālā* or waggon top roof above, with a row of six *kalaśas* is suggestive of a temple or *gopura* with an *āyatāsra śikhara.*[5] The same is the case with regard to a but with a similar roof and three *kalaśas* and a *nāsikā* or gable in the front.[6] One building with a square base and four sided roof is suggestive of the *Kūtāgāra* of the *Nāgara* Order of which the Draupadīratha of Mahābalipuram is a very good example.[7] The Eastern Chāḷukyan temples of Bikkavklu are also similar. A hut with a round base and top[8] answers the description of a pure *Vesara* shrine found in the sanskrit *vāstu* texts. A storeyed building containing human heads inside is suggestive of the *kapota* of the cave temples of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and the Pallavas and the *Kūṭas* of structural temples, similarly decorated.[9] The *vihāra* of four storeys with two, three, four and five gables, raised round the *Vṛkṣacaitya*,[10] is suggestive of the storeyed *vimāna* of the later temples. The building with a heavily moulded cornice and ornamentation[11] is suggestive of the upper part of the facades of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin and Pallava caves. A single storeyed building with three gables and a row of animals above[12] is also suggestive of the cave facades. Two storeyed buildings, containing two gables in the centre of the front of the first floor and a *kūtāgāra* at either end[13], are suggestive of an *alpaprāsāda* of the *Nāgara* Order, found in the second storey of the Anantaśāyī cave of Uṇḍavalli and on the rock depicting Arjuna's penance at Mahābalipuram. The sculpture showing Nalagiridamana contains the wing of a building with a square base and a *śālā* top adorned with a wide *nāsikā* or gable in the front.[11] The sculpture showing the conversion of the

5. Sivaramamurti—*Amarāvati Sculptures*, Pl.XII.Fig.3
6. *ibid.*, fig. 7.
7. *ibid.*
8. *ibid.*, fig. 4.
9. *ibid.*, Pl. XIV-3.
10. *ibid.*, Pl. XV-1.
11. *ibid.*, Pl. XVII-2.
12. *ibid.*, Pl. XIX-a.
13. *ibid.*, Pl. XXIV.
14. *ibid.*, Pl. XV-1.

Buddhavaggīya youths contains a shrine on four pillars surmounted by a four faced dome like top[15] and is suggstive of an *alpaprāsāda* of the *Nāgra* Order. Long sheds with waggon top shaped roofs appear frequently in these sculptures[16] and are suggestive of the *āyatāsra* shrine, of which the Bhīmasena-ratha is a good example. There is a miniature shrine with a circular *śikhara* and another with an octagonal top,[17] suggestive of the *vimānas* of the *Vesara* and *Drāviḍa* Orders. The *Puṇyaśālā* of Jaggayyapeṭa, with an upper storey and an *āyatāsra* or oblong top with *kalaśas* above, is suggestive of this type of *Vesara* temples and the *gopura*. Similar examples are to be found in the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. In addition to these examples found in sculptures, there existed some structures in the well known Buddhist *tīrthas* of Āndhradeśa which actually served as temples. In most of the *tīrthas* there were apsidal *caitya* halls, some with a *pradakṣiṇa* in the interior with either a *caitya* or an image of the Buddha in the apse. These are suggestive of the apsidal or *Gajapṛṣta* type of Hindu temple of which there are good examples at Guḍimallam and Satyavolu in Āndhradeśa, besides the Kapoteśvara temple of Chezerla, which is a Buddhist *caitya* hall converted into a *Śaiva* shrine. At Śālihuṇḍam, there is a rectangular room with a brick platform in the centre containing an image of the Buddha and this resembles the Hindu *garbhagṛha* with an image in the centre. There are three such structures at Śaṅkaram with the Buddha figure or sculptures on the back wall and these are suggestive of the Somāskaṅda panel sculptured on the back wall of the *garbhagṛha* in the early Pallva caves and temples. One structure in the same place had *aṅtarāla* and yet another, a pair of dvārapālakas.[18]

It is evident from the examples cited above that buildings of the shapes and forms of the later day Hindu temples existed in Buddhist times and that these must have been adopted by the Hindus as models for their temples.

II. IKṢVĀKU TEMPLES.

If the prototypes of temples are found in the Buddhist or Āndhra-Śātavāhana period, actual temples are found in the Iḳṣvāku period, which followed the former immediately. The period of Ikṣvāku rule is memorable not only in the the history of Āndhradeśa but also in the history of south India. Cāmtamūla I, the first known independent ruler of the Ikṣvāku family, (220-235) performed *aśvamedha, agniṣṭoma* and *vājapeya* and was a great devotee of Svāmi Mahāsena or Kumārasvāmin. He revived *vaidika dharma* and propagated it widely. The reign of his grandson, Ehavala Cāmatamūla (260-284), witnessed remarkable religious activity and a number of temples, dedicated to the Hindu deities were constructed at Vijayapurī, the Ikṣvāku

15. *ibid.*, Pl. XXIX-4.
16. *ibid.*, Pl. XLVII-2.
17. *Madras Museum Bulletin.*
18. Rama Rao—*Buddhajayanti Souvenir*, pp. 55-57.

capital. Recent excavations conducted in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa valley brought to light several of these temples of which the following are important:—

Kumārasvāmi temple I[19]—This temple existed on site V-7. A lime stone slab bearing the figure of the *Śakti* of Mahāsena, a female deity, standing in *samabhaṅga*, holding *triśūla* in the right hand and keeping the left at *kaṭi*, holding firmly the hilt of a sword, was obtained from this site. An umbrella and *mayūrapincha* are shown in the background.

Kumārasvāmi temple II[20]—This temple was built on the bank of the Krishna. The L shaped platform of the temple and the stumps of several pillars are still to be seen. An inscription found on the spot shows that this was a shrine dedicated to Kumāra. The southern part of the building which contains massive platforms must have contained the *garbhagṛha*. This shrine was founded by Cāmta-Śakti Kumāra.

Kumarasvāmi temple III[21]—This is a pillared hall situated about two hundred yards further south of the above temple. From the site were recovered pedastals and numerous torsos and a head of Kumāra. Among other articles found is a slab containing the figure of Kumāra standing with his legs apart and keeping the left hand at *kaṭi* and probably holding a spear in the right hand, now broken. He wears a peculiar *makuṭa* with a tilt to the right and *saṁkhapatrakuṇḍalas*, a broad *graiveyaka*, with a round pendant, and a *kaṭivastra*, whose ends hang to the sides. A broken piece of sculpture, also found here depicts the head of another Kumāra image.

Puṣpabhadrasvāmi temple[22]—The site of this temple is at the northern reach of the Krishna. An inscription found on this site states that this temple of Śiva, named Puṣpabhadrasvāmin, was built by mahārājakumāra Śrī Virapuruṣadatta, son of the Ikṣvāku king, Ehavala Cāmtamūla, and his queen Kupaṇaśrī. It registers the gift of the village of Puḍokeḍam for the perpetual maintenance of the temple.

Śiva temple[23]—This was a shrine constructed with bricks veneered with slabs, neatly plastered walls and paved floor with a roof resting on four pillars. A number of stone lingas were found inside this temple.

Temple of Sarvadeva[24]—The existence of this temple is known from an inscription which states that a temple for Sarvadeva was built by Elisiri, the chief *talavara*, who was a great devotee of Kumārasvāmin. This record is dated in the eleventh year of the reign of Cāmtamūla II.

19. *Indian Archaeology*, 1955-56, p. 25.
20. *ibid.*, p. 36.
21. *ibid.*, Pl. LXIII-c.
22. *ibid.*, 1956-57, p. 36; Pl. VIII and *E.I.* XXIV, pp. 19-29.
23. *Ind. Arch.* 1957-58, p. 8.
24. *E.I.* XXXIII, pp. 147-149.

Temple of Noḍagirisvāmi[25]—The existence of this temple is known from another inscription, also dated in the reign of Cāmtamūla II, which states that a lady, named Ratavasya, the daughter of a merchant, raised this Devakula for god Noḍagirisvāmi.

Temple of Aṣṭabhujasvāmi—This temple is on a site in the north-eastern corner of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa valley on the bank of the Krishna. It has yielded three shrine chambers with a *dhvajastambha* opposite one of them. A conch containing the carving of a *vedī* with a *stambha* surmounted by a *cakra* and another *stambha* surmounted by a bent sword and flag was found on this site. Two short labels have also been incised on the conch and one of them reads *BHAGAVATO AṬHABHUJASĀMISA*[26]. A gold plaque showing a nobleman standing in the posture of adoration, holding a lotus in one hand has also been found on the site.[27] More important is an inscribed slab also found in this locality. This sanskrit record, dated in the thirtieth year of an Ābhīra king, named Vasusena, states that *Mahāgrāmaka Mahātalavara Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* Śivasepha of the Kauśika *gotra* and of the Peribiḍeha family, installed god Aṣṭabhujasvāmin on Saṭagiri and that the *Yaunarājās* of Sṛnjayapurī, Śaka Rudradāman of Avaṅtī, and Viṣṇurudra-Śivalānaṅda Sātakarṇi of Vanavāsī, decorated the enclosure of the temple, dug a well on the hill and planted a palmyrah grove at Muḍera. This god is described as *Rumbarabhava* and as not changed from his place.[28]

III. PALLAVA TEMPLES.

It is now very well known that the Pallavas brought about the fall of the Ikṣvākus and annexed the southern and south-western parts of Ikṣvāku territory to their own kingdom. They seem to have continued the movement of revival of *vaidika dharma* and the movement of temple building which were started by the Ikṣvākus. The British Museum plates of Cārudevī register a gift made to the Kulimahātāraka temple of Bhagavān Nārāyaṇa at Dālura.[29] The Uruvapalli grant of Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugopa register a gift made to the temple of Viṣṇuhara built by the general Viṣṇuvarma at Kandukūra.[30] Other dynasties that flourished contemporaneously shared this temple building activity with the Pallavas. The Goraṅṭla plates of Hastivarman of the Ānanda gotra mention god Śaṁbhu of Vaṁkeśvara.[31] Then there is the well known temple of Chezerla.

25. *ibid.*, XXXV, pp. 4-7.
26. *Ind. Arch.* 1958-59, Pl. V., fig. 5.
27. *ibid.*, fig. c.
28. *E.I.* XXXIV, pp. 197-204; *Ind. Arch.* 1958-59, Pl. V, fig. a.
29. *E.I.* VIII, pp. 143-146.
30. *I.A.* V. pp. 50-53.
31. *ibid.*, IX, pp. 102-103.

The Kapoteśvara Temple of Cezerla— Chezerla is a small village situated about fifteen miles west of Narasaraopeṭa, the headquarters of a taluk of that name in the Guntur district of Āndhra Pradesh. It is accessible by bus in the summer months and in other months one has to walk about six miles from the nearest bus stop in order to reach the village.[32]

The village is well known for its temple. All writers on Indian antiquities are aware of only two structural Buddhist *caityagṛhas* now extant and these are at Ter in Mahārāṣṭra and Chezerla in Āndhra Pradesh. Both have been occupied by the Hindus and converted into *śaivite* shrines.

The temple of Chezerla is dedicated to Śiva under the name of Kapoteśvara and the linga, enshrined in the temple, is considered to be the mutilated part of the body of a king named Sibi. There are two traditions, one Hindu and one Buddhist, associating a king named Śibi and a Kapota or dove.

The Hindu version of the tradition is found in the Mahābhārata. It runs as follows:—Once upon a time, there was a *Cakravartin* named Śibi, son of Māṅdhāta, who ruled over Kaṣmīr. He had two brothers, named Meghaḍaṁbara and Jīmūtavāhana. One day, Meghaḍaṁbara obtained Śibi's permission and left Kaṣmīr with a retinue of a thousand and five hundred men on a pilgrimage. In course of time, he came to a place near which a number of *yogis* were doing penance on a hill. He too joined them and after the lapse of a few years of intense meditation, he passed away. His body was burned on the top of the hill and assumed the form of a *linga*. Finding that the brother had not returned, Jīmūtavāhana started in search of him with a large retinue. He too came to the same place and took to meditation after knowing of what had happened to his brother. He too perished here. Then Śibi himself set out in order to find his two missing brothers. On reaching the place and seeing the *linga* representing his brother, he decided to perform a hundred *yajñas* on this holy spot. While he was performing the hundredth *yajña*, the gods wanted to test him and his fitness to go to heaven and occupy an envious place, the prize for his hundred *yajñas*. Śiva assumed the form of a hunter, Brahma the form of an arrow and Viṣṇu that of a *kapota* or dove. The hunter chased after the bird which, after flying here and there out of fear, reached Śibhi and sought his protection. The emperor assured the bird that its life will be protected against all dangers. Very soon, the hunter came to the king and begged for the release of the bird so that he could kill and eat it and quench the pangs of hunger. Śibi was in a fix. He could neither release the bird to which he had offered protection nor allow the hunter to die of hunger. As a compromise, he offered the hunter his own flesh equal to the weight of the bird. A pair of scales was brought and the *kapota* was placed in one of the scales. The king plucked out flesh from his body and

32. I surveyed this temple on May 10, 1963.

placed it in the other. The scales did not turn. Ultimately, he cut his head and placed it in the scale along with the flesh of his body. Pleased with this great sacrifice, the gods appeared before the king, restored his life and offered boons—Śibi desired that he and his followers should go to Kailāsa and that their bodies should assume the forms of so many *lingas*. Later, a temple was constructed over the trunk of Śibi and the headless body came to be worshipped as Kapoteśvara.

The other tradition is embodied in a Buddhist *jātaka* story named the *Śibi jātaka* and in the *Avadāna Śataka*. According to the former, king Śibi gave up his eyes to Indra who came to him disguised as a Brāhman. The *Śataka* combines the story of the *jātaka* and the *Mahābhārata*. This *Śibi jātaka* is frequently found in Buddhist *jātaka* sculptures and there are two representations, one at Amarāvati and the other at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

There are nine inscriptions in the temple.[33] Of these, two[34] dated in S. 1085 and 1169, mention that god Kapoteśvara is in the midst of 4,444 lingas. Two others[35] are dated in S. 1069 and S. 1087. One record[36] in 7th century characters is said to be the record of a gift made by Viṣamasiddhi, who has to be identified with (Kubja) Viṣṇuvardhana I, the founder of the Eastern Cāḷukyan dynasty. The remaining two records are very important. They are incised on the two sides of the same slab. One of them,[37] a record of the well known Pallava King, Maheṅdra Varman I, (600-630 A.D.) mentions the king as Mahendravikrama mahārāja with his titles *Avanibhājana* and *Vegavatī-sanātha* and registers a gift made by him to god Kapotesvara. The other inscription[38] registers gifts made by a grandson of the *Ānanda gotra* king, Kaṅdara. King Kaṅdara is said to have fought many elephant battles at Dhānyakaṭa, offended the Lord of Krishnaveṇṇā by causing widowhood to many Āndhra women, and been the Lord of the Trikūṭaparvata, and of Kaṅdarapura with two *janapadas*. This Kaṅdara had a daughter named Avanitalāṁtavatī who begot the donor, who had the title *Satsabhāmalla*.

The Kapoteśvara temple is situated inside a compound in the north-western corner of the village and faces the east. The only entrance is in the eastern wall and is surrounded by a low *gopura* which is devoid of all decoration. The pillars and pilasters of the doorway have simple bracket capitals like those found in the Pallava temples of Kāṅcī.

The walled enclosure is studded with a number of minor shrines and stone-cut votive shrines. Immediately facing the *gopura* entrances are a

33. SII. VI., Nos. 593-601.
34. *ibid.*, nos. 597 and 598.
35. *ibid.*, nos. 599 and 600.
36. *ibid.*, no. 593.
37. *ibid.*, no. 595.
38. *ibid.*, no. 594.

small *maṇṭapa* and the *dhvajastaṁbha*. There are six minor shrines in the southern part of the courtyard, two in the western part behind the main temple and eight in the northern part. There are, besides these minor shrines, a number of stone cut votive shrines, all of the *Nāgara* order, two slabs containing 1000 lingas each and a marble slab containing the figure of Sūrya standing holding a lotus in each hand. To the north-west of the main shrine is a group of worn out images of the *Saptamātṛkas*.

The main shrine of Kapoteśvara has a small *naṁdimaṁtapa* in the front. Behind it is a narrow rectangular *maṇṭapa* with two pillars in the front row and four in the back row with corresponding pilasters with the *dvāra* in the centre. These four pillars have half lotus medallions. Beyond is a square *Mukhamaṇṭapa* containing two rows of two pillars each with corresponding pilasters. The two pilasters in the hind row, situated on either side of the *dvāra*, contain figures of Dvārapālakas. Behind this *maṇṭapa* are two walls, running east-west, connecting this *maṇṭapa* and the apsidal shrine behind. There are two walls projecting to north and south at right angles to these walls and forming a narrow compartment which corresponds to the *aṁtarāḷa*. Beyond them are two similar walls with an entrance in the middle and these mark the chord across the apse of the original *caitya-gṛha*. There is a row of three pillars each on the inner side of the apse in the *garbhagṛha*. Over them is a false roof made of stone slabs.

The linga of Kapoteśvara, set up on a square *vedī*, is peculiar. It looks like the headless body of a man. There are two holes at the top on the sides. The hole in the right holds a vessel-full of water, which is drained everyday in the morning. The other hole takes in any quantity of water which goes to an unknown destination.

The outer side of the walls of this apsidal shrine is plain. There is a plain unadorned *kapota* above the wall. The portion above consists of a *paṭṭa, tripaṭṭa, gaḷa, paṭṭa, tripaṭṭa, gaḷa* and horse shoe shaped *śikhara*., There are no *kaḷaśas* above the *śikhara* as is the case with other apsidal temples. In the front of this *śikhara* there is a big *simhalalāṭa* gable with elevations on the sides. Inside it is a *śālākoṣṭa* with a seated deity figure at the bottom and Śiva and Devī seated on the bull in the centre.

The Paraśurāmeśvara temple, Guḍimallam.[39] Guḍimallam is a small village situated about two miles to the east of Pāpānāyuḍupeṭa, a flourishing industrial village in the Kāḷahasti taluk of the Chittoor district of Āndhra Pradesh. There is a small apsidal temple in this village which is often mentioned on account of the peculiar *linga* housed in it.

This temple consists of two parts, an original Pallava structure consisting of the *Garbhagṛha* and *aṁtarāḷa* and a later Coḷa addition, in the shape of an inner *pradakṣiṇa* and *mukhamaṇṭapa* built in 1126 A.D.

39. I surveyed this temple on February 10, 1962 and published a preliminary accoun in *JAHRS* Vol. 29.

There are twenty six inscriptions[40] in this temple belonging to the Pallava, Bāṇa, Yādavarāya and Coḷa dynasties. The earliest of these. dated in the twenty third year of the Pallava king, Naṅdipottarayar or Nandivarman, (779-830) records gift of land made while Vikramāditya Mahābalibāṇarāyar was governing the country to the west of the Telugu road. It contains an order of the village committee about the setting up of oil mills for the supply of oil for the temple. (M.E.R. 229 of 1903) The next record is dated in the forty-ninth year of the Pallava king, Daṅtivikramavarman and records gifts of land made while Vijayāditya Mahābalibāṇarāyar was ruling. (Ibid., 226). Another inscription, dated in the twenty-fourth year of Pallava Nṛpatuṅgavarman, records a gift made while Bāṇa Vidyādhara was ruling (*Ibid.*, 228) A record dated S. 820 in the reign of the Bāṇa chief, Vijayāditya, son of Vidyādhara, records gift of thirty *kalaṅju* of gold for a lamp (*Ibid.*, 223). Another, dated S. 827 in the same reign, registers the gift of twenty *kalaṅju* of gold for the supply of ghee for a lamp (*Ibid.*, 224) The remaining inscriptions are Coḷa records. One of them belongs to the time of Parāṅtaka I and is dated in the thirty-second year of his reign. Another, dated in the fourth year of the reign of Rājakesarivarman, registers gifts made for offerings to an image set up by Gaṇḍarādityan (*Ibid.*, 225 and 222). There are sixteen records of the time of Rājarāja III (1216-1246). Of these, two, dated in the second year, and fifth year, register gifts of land (*Ibid.*, 220 and 211). One record, dated in the ninth year, registers gifts of land made by Cāḷukyanārāyaṇa Yādavarāya *alias* Ghaṭṭideva (*Ibid.*, 210). One record, dated in the tenth year (*Ibid.*, 218) another dated in the fourteenth year (*Ibid.*, 219) and three dated in the fifteenth year (*Ibid.*, 205, 206 and 209) register gifts of lamps. One inscription of the fifteenth year mentions the god as Paraśurāmesvaramudaiya—nāyanār (*Ibid.*, 204). Another, dated in the sixteenth year, registers a gift made by a certain Aḍigaimān, a Yādavarāya officer (*Ibid.*, 221) One record of the nineteenth year states that a certain Karkaṭa Rāya built a well for fetching water for the god's bath (*Ibid.*, 214). Two inscriptions, dated in the twentieth and twenty-seventh years, (*Ibid.*, 216 and 208) register gifts of gold for lamps. There are two records of the time of Vikrama Coḷa (1118-1133). One of them, dated in the eighth year, mentions the setting up of the image of Caṇdeśvara (*Ibid.*, 213). The other, dated in the next year, records the building of the temple for the merit of Nāraṇadeva by his son (*Ibid.*, 212). The last record is of the time of a Yādavarāya chieftain, named Vīranarasiṁha (*Ibid.*, 215).

The Parasurameśvara temple is situated in a rectangular enclosure at the north-eastern end of the village. There were four brick walls on the four sides, now almost fallen, with an only entrance in the west. This entrance is surmounted by a gopura whose brick superstructure has fallen. Its base, which is of stone, is austerely simple. There is a sculpture of Nṛtta-Gaṇapati on the inner side of this base to the left of the pathway.

40. *MER* nos. 204—229 of 1903.

There is a small shrine near the north-western angle of this enclosure containing the images of Kumāra and two Devīs. To its north is another small shrine containing a four handed image of Devī. A third shrine in the north-eastern corner houses a fine icon of Sūrya. In the eastern part of the enclosure are to be seen the *dhvajastambha* and *balipīṭha* and a low *maṅtapa* containing *nandi*.

The inner enclosure is closed. It consists of a low *adhiṣṭāna* with three simple parts, plain walls built of large blocks of stone, a narrow plain band above them and the *ācchādana* or roof. It has a projecting entrance porch in the south. This porch consists of a pathway in the middle and a raised part on either side with a pillar having a lion at the base in the front. This is obviously an addition made in Vijayanagara times.

The main shrine of Paraśurāmeśvara consisting of *garbhagṛha* and *aṅtarāḷa* is situated inside a *pradakṣiṇa* closed on the sides. Both the structures are on the same *adhiṣṭāna* which contains *upāna, adhaḥpadma,* three *paṭṭas, tripaṭṭa,* two *paṭṭas, ūrdhvapadma,* and *āliṅgapaṭṭikā*. The *garbhagṛha* is apsidal on plan and the *aṅtarāḷa* before it is narrow. The walls of the *garbhagṛha* contain, from north to south the series—three pilasters, *makaratoraṇa* niche with a figure of Dakṣiṇāmūrti, five pilasters, *makaratoraṇa* niche with a figure of Viṣṇu, five pilasters, and *makaratoraṇa* niche with the figure of Brahma. The north and south walls of the *aṅtaraḷa* are decorated with a *makaratoraṇa* niche flanked by two pilasters on each side. The niche in the north wall contains a figure of Durgā while that in the south wall is decorated with the figure of Gaṇapati. The walls are surmounted by a flat *paṭṭa* and *bhūtamālā*. The *vimāna* above the *garbhagṛha* is of the apsidal or *Gajaprṣṭa* variety of the *Vesara* Order. There is an elongated *nāśikā* or gable on either side of it with wing like elevations on the edge and a *simhalalāṭa* at the top. There are three stone *kalaśas* on the apsidal *śikhara*. The *Pradakṣiṇa* is a narrow pillared corridor running on the south, west and north of the *garbhagṛaha* and *aṅtarāḷa*. There is open space, about two feet wide, between the *pradakṣiṅa* and the structures inside it but slabs have been laid at intervals connecting the roof of the *pradakṣiṇa* and the roofs of the two central structures. There are five pillars in the northern and southern wings and four in the western wing, all of them with round shafts and typical Coḷa capitals.

The rectangular *mukhamaṇṭapa* forms the eastern extension of the *pradakṣiṇa*. There are four rows of pillars in it each of four pillars. The entire *maṅṭapa* has been enclosed by walls with an only entrance in the south. There is a small niche in the south fitted with a perforated screen.

The following icons and sculptures are to be found in this temple and the small shrines in the outer enclosure:—

1. *Durgā*—Standing with the left leg slightly bent, this deity holds *cakra* in the upper right hand and *śaṅkha* in the upper left and keeps the lower right in *abhaya* and the lower left at *kaṭi*. She is adorned with *kirīṭa-*

makuṭa, cakrakuṇḍalas, three *graiveyakas, kucabaṅdha*, girdle with pearl hangings, *pūrṇoruka* and *maṅjīras.*

2. *Brahmā*—This deity with three heads stands in *samabhaṅga* holding *akṣamālā* in the upper right hand, *kamaṇḍalu* in the upper left and keeping the lower right in *abhaya* and the lower left at *kati.* He wears pendants on the ears, *kirīṭamakuṭa* three *graiveyakas, yajñopavīta, udarabaṅdha, channavira pūrṇoruka* and *maṅjīras.*

3. *Viṣṇu*—Standing in *samabhaṅga*, this god holds *śaṅkha* and *cakra* in the upper hands and keeps the lower right hand in *abhaya* and the lower left at *kaṭi.*

4. *Dakṣiṇāmūrti*—Seated with the right leg resting on the back of *apasmārapuruṣa* and the ankle of the bent left leg resting on the right thigh, this god holds *akṣamālā* in the upper right hand, *kamaṇḍalu* in the upper left and keeps the lower right hand in *ciṁmudra* and the lower left in *varada* holding a book. *Jaṭas* emanate from his head to the sides. He is adorned with *jaṭāmakuṭa, makarakuṇḍalas*, five *graiveyakas*, one long *hāra, yajñopavīta, chaṅnavīra*, girdle, *ardhoruka* and *maṅjīras.* There is a bearded sage at bottom on either side.

Kumāra and Devis—Kumāra of this combination has three faces in the front and three at the back. He is seated on a peacock with his left leg folded and the right hanging. The upper right hands hold lotuses while the upper left hands hold *vajras.* The lower hands are in *abhaya* and *varada.* He is decorated with *kirīṭamakuṭa, patrakuṇḍalas*, two *graiveyakas, yajñopavīta, chaṅnavīra, udarabaṅdha, ardhoruka* and *maṅjīras.* There are two Devīs on either side each holding a lotus in one hand and keeping the other hanging.

6. *Devī*—Standing in *samabhaṅga*, this deity holds *aṅkuśa* in the upper right hand, *pāśa* in the upper left and keeps the lower hands in *abhaya* and *varada.*

7. *Sūrya*—Standing in *samabhaṅga*, this god holds a lotus in each of his two hands. There is a *prabhā* behind his head. He is adorned with *makarakuṇḍalas*, a broad *graiveyaka, yajñopavīta*, girdle with *simhalalāṭa* buckle, *pūrṇoruka* and *maṅjīras.*

8. *Naṭarāja*—This is a fine bronze image. This god dances in the *bhujaṅgatrāsa* pose resting his right leg on the *apasmārapuruṣa* and holding *ḍamaru* in the upper right hand, flame in the upper left, and keeping the lower right in *abhaya* and the lower left in *karihasta. Jaṭas* emanate from his head in four rows. He is adorned with *jaṭāmakuṭa, makara* and *cakra kuṇḍalas, yajñopavīta, udarabaṅdha, pūrṇoruka* and *maṇjīras.*

9. *Somāskaṅda I*—This is a set of three bronzes. A short inscription in two lines below the image of Caṅdraśekhara states that the set was gifted in the month of Māgha in the cyclic year, *Pramādīca*, corresponding to S. 1715 by Rājā Dāmera Veṅkatappanāyaniṁgāru. Caṅdraśekhara of this set is

seated in *vīrāsana* holding *paraśu* in the upper right hand and *mṛga* in the upper left and keeping the two lower hands in *abhaya* and *varada*. He is adorned with *kirīṭamakuṭa makara* and *cakra kuṇḍalas, graiveyaka, yajñopavīta, chaṅnavīra*, girdle, *ardhoruka* and *maṅjīras*. Devī is seated with her right leg folded and the left hanging. She holds *utpala* in the right hand and keeps the palm of the left hand open. She is adorned with *kirīṭamakuta. cakrakuṇḍalas, keyūras*, two *graiveyakas*, girdle with pearl hangings *pūrṇoruka* and *maṅjīras*. Kumāra stands in *samabhaṅga* between the two deities holding a lotus in each hand.

Somāskaṅda II—This smaller set is of the same description as the bigger set described above. An inscription in two lines incised on the Caṅdraśekhara image states that the set was presented on the fifth day of the month of Puṣya in the cyclic year *Durmatī*, corresponding to S. 1723.

Parasurāmeśvara liṅga—As stated in the beginning, this *liṅga* is very peculiar and therefore much noticed. It is five feet high and one foot thick and of black granite. Its upper portion is shaped like an ordinary *liṅga* but the long shaft below contains, in fine relief, the figure of Śiva standing on the shoulders of a crouching demon. He has only two arms, both hanging, the right holding *mṛga* and the left *kamaṇḍalu* with a *paraśu* resting against the left shoulder. His hair is matted and he wears a number of rings on the ears and a peculiar girdle with its central part hanging.

IV. Remarks.

The Ikṣvāku temples described above are of great importance for the evolution of Hindu temple architecture in South India. The buildings and temples of the Buddhist epoch served as their models and they in turn inspired temple construction of subsequent centuries of which various examples are to be found in the monolithic *rathas* of Mahābalipuram. The dates of the Ikṣvāku temples can be known with certainity. They were built during the reign of the Ikṣvāku king, Cāṁtamūla II, who ruled in the third quarter of the third century A.D. It is also clear from this that the temple building activity of South India was not inspired by the few surviving Gupta examples of distant north India and that the movement was indegenous and local. The origin of the cave and temple architecture of the Pallavas is more less certain because the Guntur and Nellore districts, which contained the earliest known Pallava temples were part of Ikṣvāku territory subsequently seized by the Pallavas and because Mahendravarman I, who introduced cave architecture into the Tamil country, ruled over this region which contained the earlier Viṣṇukuṇḍin cave temples of Vijayavāda, Mogalrājapuram and Uṇḍavalli.[41] Similarly, there was a great temple building movement in northern Karṇāṭaka dating from 400 A.D. at the least, later patronised by the Early Cāḷukyas of Bādāmī. The mention of a Khaṁḍa-Caḷiki-remmaṇaka in one of the

41. For a description of these cave temples see my "*History, monuments* and *coins of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins*" A.P. Government Archaeological Series No. 10.

Ikṣvāku inscriptions from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa,[42] the mention of a Cāḷukya-viṣaya as existing round about the confluence of the Krishna and the Tungabhadra[43] in the Mahaboobnagar district of Āndhradeśa and the statement in Cāḷukyan c.p. grants that the second known historical ancestor of the family propitiated several deities on the Cāḷukyagiri, all these indicate the high probability of the Cāḷukyas having been one time subordinates of the Ikṣvākus of Vijayapurī. If so, it is very likely that the Cāḷukyas drew their inspiration for temple building from the Ikṣvākus and gave this movement a new orientation at Aihole, Paṭṭadakal and Bādāmī. This also explains the general similarities between the Cāḷukyan and Pallava temples.

The Kapoteśvara temple of Chezerla is a peculiar shrine. It was originally a Buddhist *catiyagṛha* and was subsequently converted into Śiva shrine. The date of this conversion can be inferred with reasonable certainity. One of the inscriptions in this temple mentions Viṣamasiddhi, identified with the Viṣṇuvardhana I (624—642), the founder and first ruler of the Eastern Cāḷukyan line. The year 600 A.D. may therefore be taken as the latest limit. Another record in the Chezerla temple belongs to the time of the grandson of Kandara II of the *Ānanda gotra* who seems to have flourished between 525-550 A.D.[44] It is clear that the temple was known as a Śiva shrine from at least 500 A.D. and that its conversion took place before that date. The later Pallavas of the Sanskrit grants ruled over this region from 350 A.D. and were zealous patrons of brāhmanical revival. It will be reasonable therefore to infer that the conversion of the Chezerla *catiyagṛha* into a Śaiva shrine took place during the time of the rule of the early Pallavas.

The Paraśurāmeśvara temple of Guḍimallam is also peculiar. Since the village was included in Pallava territory from the beginning of Pallava rule, its Pallava origin need not be doubted. The presence of an inscription of Vijayadaṅtivikramavarman in the temple indicates that the temple was in existence from 700 A.D. at the latest. The peculiar *linga* which is housed in it today is assigned to varying dates from the first century B.C. to the fifth century A.D. In any case, the *liṅga* is older than the temple. It is possible that the temple was built in order to house the *liṅga* which is of an earlier date. This temple may be assigned to about 700 A.D.

42. *E.I.* XX, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Inscriptions, B4.

43. *C.P. grants in the A.P. Government Museum*, pp. 40-45.

44. See my article entitled "*Successors* of the *Sātavāhanas*" in the Journal of Indian History Vol. pp.

45. I surveyed this temple in February, 1962 and published a preliminary account in the *J.A.H.R.S.* Vol. XXVII, pp. 179-183.

P. Nagaraja Rao

The nature and Function of God in Dvaita Vedanta

सदागमैकविज्ञेयं समतीतक्षराक्षरम् ।
नारायणं सदा वन्दे निर्दोषाशेषसद्गुणम् ॥
विशेषणानि यानीह कथितानि सदुक्तिभिः ।
साधयिष्यामि तान्येव क्रमात् सज्जनसंविदे ॥

Sri Madhva's Dvaita Vedānta is a unique type of radical Pluralism, asserting the supremacy of Lord Nārāyaṇa, above all things, and affirming at the same time the existence of a number of dependent reals. The real for Srī Madhva is not that which exists in all three times (present, past and future). It need not be eternal and continuing for ever. The real is not the *nitya*. It is that which is not superimposed (*anāropitam*),[1] Madhva's classification and enumeration of categories is not mechanical nor purely epistemological. It is significantly ontological, so as to bring out the high-lighting principle of his theism. It brings out all the glory of the nature of ultimate reality, which is identified, on the authority of scriptures, with Nārāyaṇa. He is the independent real. He alone is self-dependent, in the absolute sense of the term. Every wish of self dependent being is realized in every activity of His. His nature *svarūpa*, its being an object of valid knowledge, *pramiti* its activity *pravṛtti* does not depend on another. Obviously there cannot be two such infinite self-dependent reals. All the other reals are dependent on God for their *svarūpa, pramiti* and *pravṛtti*. They are real not in the European Philosophical sense of the term, nor are they eternal. Dependent reality is admitted by Madhva and he feels that the existence of some reals beside the Lord adds to His glory and their non-existence would leave the Lord a soverign without a country to rule and citizens to pay him homage. Dependent reals are reals because the Lord has so willed it.[2] There is only one *svatantra* reality. The declaration that there is only one secondless Independent Real summarizes the genuis of Madhva's system.[3] All other tenets follow from this major premise. If we articulate it we get the class of dependent reals, and the reality of the world. Śrī Madhva's God is not the indeterminate, homogeneous impartite *akhaṇḍaikarasa* of Śankara's Brahman. Nor is he the mere *nimitta-kāraṇa* of the world as in *Nyāya*. For the Lord, if he chooses, can

1. तत्वमनारोपितम् *Kiraṇāvalī* Benaras Edn. It is interesting that this definition is as early as Udayana (1050 A.D.)

2. नित्यो नित्यश्चेतनश्चेतनानाम् । *Kaṭha*, II. 2-13.

3. स्वतन्त्रमस्वतन्त्रञ्च द्विविधं तत्त्वमिष्यते ।
स्वतन्त्रो भगवान् विष्णुः ..... ॥
Ṭattvasaṁkhyāna.

render the eternal categories like those of souls, time, space, substance, etc., ineffective.[4] He is not the god of the *yoga* system who is one among the special *puruṣas*.[5] He is the supreme *puruṣa* different from all others. He is not the God of Rāmānuja who is inseperably connected by *cit* and *acit* as his *prakāras* (outer sheaths).[6] He stands independent above all without a before or after in his glory. His qualities are not limited to six or eight as some systems describe.[7] He is the infinite home of all auspicious attributes. He has no detestable qualities (*heyaguṇa*). He is not the same stuff as of *prakṛti*. His nature and personality is a piece with His transcendent nature. It is *aprākṛta*. The Lord alone is the free agent. The terms freedom, independence, knowledge, glory, power, etc., have the plenary significance only in respect of Him. The human enjoyment of any faculty is derivative and is only to be understood in a restrictive sense. The existence (*sattā*) of all reals other than the Lord depends on His will. It is His will (*saṅkalpa*) not to destroy eternal entities supported by Him. It is observed that Lakṣhmī, His consort, does not contribute to his bliss. His bliss is self sufficient, for the Lord is the source of all happiness. The Lord transcends *prakṛti* and His nature is pure intelligence and bliss. There is no difference between the Lord and His incarnations.[8]

Śrī Madhva establishes the existence of God not on the sandy foundations of logic or natural theology. It is based on scriptural authority. To the contention, that scripture speaks in different voices about the nature of ultimate reality, *e.g.*, sometimes in negative terms, and sometimes in positive predication, Jayatīrtha in a masterly manner effects the harmonization of the *śrutis* under five heads. He writes, "All the Vedic texts set forth only one form of Brahman, called Nārāyaṇa as the mine of innumerable auspicious qualities and free from all traces of any defect whatsoever. (1) Now some texts describe Him as endowed with qualities such as omniscience, the inner rulership of all existing things, sentient and insentient, great beauty, generosity and the like; (2) other texts describe Him as free from all taints such as sin, sorrow, a body made of five elements and so on; (3) yet other texts describe Him as inaccessible to the complete comprehension of man and as beyond the reach

4. द्रव्यं कर्म च कालश्च स्वभावो जीव एव च ।
यदनुग्रहतस्सन्ति न सन्ति यदुपेक्षया ।।
Bhāgavata, II. 10-12.

5. क्लेशकर्मविपाकाशयैरपरामृष्टः पुरुषविशेष ईश्वरः ।
Yogasūtra.

6. अशेषचिदचित्प्रकारमेकमेव ब्रह्म ।
Nyāyasiddhānjana 1

7. The Nyāya as the Śaivaits hold the view.

8. *Gītā-bhāṣya:* रामकृष्णादिरूपाणि परिपूर्णानि सर्वदा । न चाणुमात्रं भिन्नानि ; तस्मात्सर्वदा सर्वरूपेषु अपरिगणितानन्तगुणगणं नित्यनिरस्ताशेषदोषं च नारायणाख्यं परं ब्रह्म अपरोक्षज्ञानी ऋच्छति ।

of speech and mind; (4) some other texts, in order to focus attention on Him to the exclusion of everything else, describe Him as one without a second; (5) a few other texts with the purpose of teaching that He is the efficient cause of all objects and every existing entity describe Him as identical with every thing. In this manner the Vedas describe the nature of Brahman in various manners."[9]

The Lord is represented as the supremely self-conscious personality. The monistic philosophies of the East and the West do not look upon ultimate reality as a personality. They call it spirit, Absolute, Brahman, God-head. They make a distinction between God and God-head as the two states of ultimate reality, the static and the dynamic. Madhva regards such distinctions as unreal. The concept of personality has been the target of attack for many philosophers. The grandest descriptions of the Lord is at best only the heaping up of all the highest qualities known to human imagination on God. They may be good so far as they go, but they are after all pitifully human conceptions. It does not avoid the anthropomorphic effect. Voltaire, remarked, " God made man in His image and he returned the compliment."

The human intellect and its proclivities find it difficult to conceive of an impersonal spirit as ultimate reality. Thomas Aquinas writes that all language about God must be necessarily analogical. Whenever men think of God, they do so only in terms of human analogy. All language about divinity is symbolic. Professor A. N. Whitehead writes, " Mankind, it seems, has to find a symbol in order to express itself. Indeed, expression itself is symbolism. Symbolism is no mere idle fancy or corrupt degeneration, it is inherent in the very texture of human life. Language itself is symbolism."[10] Symbols suggest but do not express. They provide the support for experience which lies beyond the power of words. The concept of personality is not a limitation as it is often made out to be. It would be so, if we mistook the symbol itself as God. Then it will be idolatry. Idolatry in the words of Śrī Rāmakṛṣṇa is the attitude of mind which identifies the symbol with God. The concept of personality does not go against the perfection of God. It is not a concession to weak minds, for authentic *advaita* tradition, holds that men must not by pass *Īśvara* but must go through Him. Madhusūdhana, the great

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9. सर्वाण्यपि हि वेदवाक्यानि असंख्येयकल्याणगुणाकरं सकलदोषगन्धविधुरमेकरूपमेव ब्रह्म नारायणाख्यं प्रतिपादयन्ति । किन्तु — (१) कानिचित् सर्वज्ञत्वसर्वेश्वरत्वसर्वान्तर्यामित्व-सौन्दर्यादार्यगुणविशिष्टतया ; (२) कानिचित् अपहतपाप्मत्वनिर्दुःखत्वप्राकृतभौतिकविग्रह-रहितत्वादिदोषाभावविशिष्टतया ; (३) कानिचिदतिगहनताज्ञापनाय वाङ्मनसागोचरत्वाद्या-कारेण ; (४) कानिचित् सर्वपरित्यागेन तस्यैवोपादाना याद्वितीयत्वेन ; (५) कानिचित्सर्व-सत्ताप्रतीतिप्रवृत्तिनिमित्तताप्रतिपत्त्यर्थं सर्वात्मकत्वेन ; इत्याद्यनेकप्रकारैः परमपुरुषं बोधयन्ति ।
Nyāyasudhā. P. 124.

10. *Symbolism* (1928) P. 23.

advaita dialectician speaks in moving terms about Lord Kṛṣṇa. The description brings out the great attraction the human mind has for the personalist conception of God.[11] Śrī Madhva's God is not like the God of the pantheist who equates God with all. for the Pantheist God minus the world is zero. For Madhva, God minus the world is still God. The God of Madhva is not the deist's concept. The world is a machine. God is necessary to set it in motion and is also necessary for its works. God is not so external to the world. He is sustaining it every second of our existence and is participating and propelling all activities according to our *karma* which is inert (*jaḍa*).[12] But for Him the world will come to a stand still. Madhva identifies ultimate Reality (*Para-Brahma*) with Nārāyaṇa. He finds ample support for it in the *Gītā* and he quotes profusely from it in support of his stand.

The glory of the Lord would stand diminished to the level of a juggler if the world is not real and is illusory. Hence, Madhva on the authority of the scripture asserts the reality of the world and describes the Lord as its *nimitta-kāraṇa*. God stands out in olympian majesty above all things in the world. The celebrated *dvā suprṇā śruti* and the last verses of the 15th chapter of the *Gītā* are repeatedly cited by Madhva to spot-light his doctrine of the five-fold differences.[13]

The Soul is the seat of the individual's experience. Souls are infinite in number. Their intrinsic nature (*svarūpa*) differs. They are all grouped under three heads. The *sāttvika*, the *rājasa* and the *tāmasa*. The realization of the true nature of ones *svarūpa* is *mokṣa*. Only the *sāttvikas* are destined to enjoy eternal bliss and avoid the accompaniment of the transmigratory process (*samsāra*). *Mokṣa* has a positive and a negative aspect. It is only the birth right of the *sāttvika* souls. They too get it through the *prasāda* of the Lord. It is derivative and not native to the soul. The *aparokṣa* vision of the Lord enables the soul to realize His native intrinsic *svarūpa*. The intrisic *svarūpa* is shrouded in the state of *samsāra* by two sheaths; one prevents the soul from the vision of the Lord

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11. वंशीविभूषितकरान्नवनीरदाभात् पीताम्बरादरुणबिम्बफलाधरोष्ठात् ।
पूर्णेन्दुसुन्दरमुखादरविन्दनेत्रात् कृष्णात् परं किमपि तत्त्वमहं न जाने ।।
Bhaktirasāyana.

12. मया ततमिदं सर्वं जगदव्यक्तमूर्तिना ।
मत्स्थानि सर्वभूतानि न चाहं तेष्ववस्थितः ।।
Gītā IX-14.

13. सर्वस्य चाहं हृदि सन्निविष्टो
मत्तः स्मृतिर्ज्ञानमपोहनं च ।
वेदैश्च सर्वैरहमेव वेद्यो
वेदान्तकृद्वेदविदेव चाहम् ।।
Gītā XV-15.

(*Īśvarācchādikā*) and the other from the vision of its own *svarūpa* (*Jīvācchādikā*) By practice of the scripture-ordained duties, the individual soul should acquire ceremonial purity. Besides this, the soul should adhere to his *svadharma*, and dedicate all activities to the pleasure of the Lord. He must give up *kāmya-karmas* (duties performed for securing definite secular ends) and must not fail to do, enjoined duties (*nitya-karma*) and must abstain from prohibited acts (*niṣiddha-karma*). He must always uninterruptedly think of the Lord as the highest value to the exclusion of all, in the face of all odds, to secure His *prasāda*. *Bhakti* is the way to it.[14] Mere *karma* and its fruits in the terms of merit, through self-effort does not give man liberation. Salvation is only through the *prasāda* of the Lord. It is not for *rājasa* and *tāmasa* souls. The *rājasa* souls, are condemned to endless cycle of births and deaths (*nitya, samsāra*). The *tāmasa* souls are consigned to eternal hell. The *svarūpa* of the souls is unalterable. That is the *samkalpa* of the Lord. Moral and spiritual progress is not indefinite, for it is necessarily limited to the *svarūpa*. Total change is destruction and cannot be called progress, it is rebirth as something entirely new. Such a transformation of the *svarūpa* of the soul is ruled out by Madhva.

The soul is the image (*pratibimba*) of the Lord. This analogy must be understood in a restricted sense. *Bimba-pratibimba-bhāva*, means that the reflection, *i.e.*, soul, is dependent on the prototype. *Pratibimba* means dependent on it (*tadadhīnatvam*). According to Madhva, freedom is never gifted away to the souls by the Lord as a prince gifts away the powers of his state to his sons. When we talk of the 'freedom of the soul' we mean that one is unaware that the Lord is the indwelling agent and does not realize that he is a dependent agent. Acting under that unawareness, as if he is free, is the only freedom given to man. It is significantly described by Jayatīrtha as *datta-svātantrya* when the soul is described as the reflection of the Lord' it is not meant that the existence of the *Jīva* is due to a material *upādhi* in which God is reflected, as in the case when the face of a person is reflected in the mirror. The soul depends for all its powers on the Lord." Madhva's conception of God is all in all in his system. He does not brook any limitation to the Lord's powers, except those He Himself chooses to have. God is the *real of the all reals*. It is the only independent real in the plenary sense of the term. Madhva does not prove the existence of God with the help of reasonings. He seeks the support of the scripture for it and finds ample support. In a devotional hymn he puts the case for God's existence and his message in very simple terms.

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14. तेषां सततयुक्तानां भजतां प्रीतिपूर्वकम् ।
ददामि बुद्धियोगं तं येन मामुपयान्ति ते ॥
तेषामेवानुकम्पार्थमहमज्ञानजं तमः ।
नाशयाम्यात्मभावस्थो ज्ञानदीपेन भास्वता ॥

Gītā X. 10. 11.

"Do the deeds that pertain (to you) and ordained (for you) and enjoy (their fruits) always with the thought bent low at Hari's feet. Hari alone is great, Hari alone is teacher, and Hari alone is the father, mother and goal of the world."

"There is nothing in the world apart from Him that is more praiseworthy. *Puruṣottama* is beyond the greatest. Hence, enough of thinking about many worlds. Let the mind pay obeisance at the feet of the Lord."

"Even at the mere effort to recollect the Lord's feet, all sins do quickly get destroyed. For one who recollects, the great position of *mokṣa* is assuredly obtained. Why is it neglected?"

"Listen to the supreme faultless and true words, uttered solemnly with the uplifted pair of arms. There is none greater than Hari, nor equal to Hari. He is the greatest among the group of all sentients."

"If Hari is not there, how do we explain the origin of the world. If the world is not dependent on the Lord (if it is dependent on us souls), then why is not there eternal happiness for us (the idea is that if we created the world, we would have seen to the effect that we had perpetual happiness. From the fact of the presence of our undesired misery it is clear that we are not the creators of the world). Hence, the Lord is the creator."

कुरु भुङ्क्ष्व च कर्म निजं नियतं हरिपादविनम्रधिया सततम् ।
हरिरेव परो हरिरेव गुरुर्हरिरेव जगत्पितृमातृगतिः ॥
न ततोऽस्त्यपरं जगतीड्यतमं परमात्परतः पुरुषोत्तमतः ।
तदलं बहुलोकविचिन्तनया श्रवणं कुरु मानसमीशपदे ॥

यततोऽपि हरेः पदसंस्मरणे सकलं ह्यघमाशु लयं व्रजति ।
स्मरतस्तु विमुक्तिपदं परमं स्फुटमेष्यति तत्किमपाक्रियते ॥
शृणुतामलसत्यवचः परमं शपथेरितमुच्छ्रितबाहुयुगम् ।
न हरेः परमो न हरेस्सदृशः परमस्स तु सर्वचिदात्मगणात् ॥
यदि नाम परो न भवेत्स हरिः कथमस्य वशे जगदेतदभूत् ।
यदि नाम न तस्य वशे सकलं कथमेव तु नित्यसुखं न भवेत् ॥

H. G. Narahari

Some old Sanskrit terms to refer a Buddhist*

Among the most important sceptics in ancient India were the Buddhists who did not subscribe to the orthodox doctrine laid down in the *Veda*. There is not a single work of note, belonging to one or the other of the *six* orthodox schools of Philosophy (*Vaidika-darśana*), which does not establish its tenet after a refutation of the Buddhist view on the point. While it is usual to refer to the Buddhist by such names as *Saugata*, *Bauddha*, *Śākya* and *Tāthāgata*, due to their remarkable mastery over the Sanskrit language, great Naiyāyikas like Jayantabhaṭṭa (890 A.D.)[1] and Udayana (984 A.D.) had woven sparkling epithets while referring to their Buddhist adversary. Names of individual Buddhists, not generally known, also occur in two of the important works of these two writers, the *Nyāyamañjarī* and the *Ātmatattvaviveka*, respectively. The object of the present paper is to collect some of these extraordinary epithets and unfamiliar names for the edification of those interested in knowing the names given to the Buddhist by Brahmin writers in the ninth and tenth centuries of the Christian era.

I. *Nyāyamañjarī*[2] *of Jayantabhaṭṭa*

1. *Aruṇāmbara*, ' red-robed '
   Iti kadāsāpralapitam etad *aruṇāmbarāṇām* (II. 109)[15]
2. *Kṣapaṇaka*,[3] ' One who is abstinent '
   Kṣapaṇakānām kīdṛśam anumānopadeśakauśalam...iti nāsāviha gaṇanārhaḥ (I. 4) [12-13]
3. *Duṣṭasaugata*, ' vile Buddhist '
   arthāsaṁsparśinaḥ śabdān kathayan *duṣṭasaugataḥ* (I. 78)[15]
4. *Devānām Priya*,[4] ' a Buddhist '
   (*a*) Aho nipuṇadarśī *devānāṁ priyaḥ* (I. 56)[4]

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* Paper read at the Annual Meeting of the Linguistic society of India, 1959

1. Paul Hacker (*Beitrage zur Indischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, Hamburg, 1951, pp. 160 ff.) has established this date on quite cogent grounds. For details see H.G. Narahari, *Poona Orientatist*. Vol. XXII, 1957 p. 77.

2. Kashi Sanskrit Series, No. 106, Benares, 1936

3. This is often an appellative of the Jain also. In the present context it refers only to the Buddhist for the Jain is referred to as *Ārhata*.

4. Whatever be the exact etymology of this expression, it is used *only* with reference to the Buddhist in this work. Further, it appears that, originally, the expression did not have the irrverent meaning it has now. This is corroborated by the fact that the word *mūrkha* found in the *Siddhānta-Kaumudī* of Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣit (on *Pāṇini*, VI. 3. 21) is absent in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjalī, the *Vārttika* of Kātyāyana and the *Kāśikā* of Vāmana and Jayāditya. At least *twice* (N.S. Press Edn., Bombay, 1946, pp. 25, 239) the expression occurs in the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa, and on both occasions it has the sense of a person to be treated with respect. In the *Edicts* of Aśoka it is a favourite epithet of the Emperor Piyadassi. It is not impossible that, in later times, the title came to be assumed by all Buddhist writers to the consternation of their Brahmin contemporaries who thereafter twisted the expression to yield its present ridiculous sense.

(*b*) Saugatair api kāraṇāt kāryānumānam aṅgīkṛtam eva....iti granthajño *devānāṁ priyaḥ* (I. 116)[30]

(*c*) Bāhyāntarakṛto viśeṣa iti cet, aho viśeṣajño *devānāṁ priyaḥ* (II. 104)[15]

5. *Bhadanta*, ' One who is to be honoured '
   (*a*) ' Pradarśitaḥ *bhadantakalahe* ' smābhir udāharaṇavistaraḥ (I. 119)[27]
   (*b*) Upādānasahakārikāraṇabhāva eva *bhadanta*-siddhānte durupapādaḥ (II. 28)[21]

6. *Raktapaṭa*, ' One who wears a red cloth '
   Atra *raktapaṭāḥ* prāhuḥ prameye sati cintanam |
   yuktaṁ nāma pramāṇasya tad eva tv atidurlabham || (I. 51)[15]

7. *Śākyanartaka*, ' Buddhist dancer '
   Na ca śaknumaḥ pade pade vayam ebhir abhinavam
   alpam api kiñcid apaśyadbhis tad eva punaḥ punaḥ
   prakurvadbhiḥ *śākyanartakais* saha kalaham atimātraṁ
   kartum (II. 115)[7-8]

8. *Śākyabhikṣu*, ' Buddhist mendicant '
   (*a*) Vijñānādvaitadarśanād iti *śākyabhikṣavaḥ* (II. 92)[4]
   (*b*) Ata eva conmattapralāpataḥ *śākyabhikṣavo* ' pi pariśuddhabodhinaḥ (II. 198)[15]

9. *Śakyaśiṣyaka*, ' worthless follower of Buddha '
   kathyate vāda eka iti *śākyaśiṣyakaiḥ* (II. 153)[17]

10. *Śauddodani*, ' son of Suddhodana (Buddha) '
    Vikalpaviṣayāḥ śabdā yathā *śauddhodaner* gṛhe (I. 58)[25]

11. *Śauddhodanisiṣya*, ' disciple of the son of Śuddhodana '
    Na tu *śauddhodaniśiṣya*-parikalpitam ubhayam apy etat (I. 107)[20]

12. Among individual Buddhist writers mentioned in this text are *Dharmakīrti* and *Ravigupta;* the former is referred to, not only by his own name,[5] but also by appellatives like *Kīrti* and *Bhikṣu*:
    (*a*) Etac ca *kīrtināpy* evaṁ kathitam (II. 200)[30]
    (*b*) Yat....lakṣaṇaṁ pratyakṣasya jagau[6] *bhikṣus* tad atyantam asāmpratam (I. 86)[8]
    (*c*) Yat kalpanāpoḍhapadaṁ..*bhikṣuṇā* paṭhitam (I. 92)[26]
    (*d*) Etena *ravigupto*[7] 'pi parimlānamukhīkṛtaḥ |
    Kṣaṇikatvakṣamāditvasamutprekṣaṇapaṇḍitaḥ || (II. 34)[20-21]

5. I.939
6. The allusion in this and the next citation must be to the definition of perception (*Pratyakṣa*) given in the *Nyāyabindu* of Dharmakīrti.
7. This Buddhist writer seems to have been an eminent exponent of the theory of momentary flux (*kṣaṇikatva*).

II. *Ātmatattvaviveka*[8] *of Udayana.*

1. *Śauddhodani*, 'son of Śuddhodana (Buddha)
Kim ayam ahiṁsādir vaidika evārtho biḍālavratanyāyena śraddhāpādanāya *śauddhodani* prabhṛtibhir upanibaddhaḥ (p. 886)[6]
2. *Āgantuka*,[9] 'heretic'
Evaṁ prakrānte *āgantukānām* anadhikārāt (p. 907)[21]
3. *Kuhakavañcita*, 'One deceived by a magician'
Kuhakavancitaiḥ..dīpaṅkaraśusiradarśibālišavat (p. 907)[22]
4. *Kīrti*, 'Dharmakīrti, ostracized by orthodoxy'
Traivarṇikabahiṣkṛtair anadhikāribhir ananyagatikatvāt *Kīrti*-prajñākaravat (p. 907)[10]
5. *Udumbaragartīyatantuvāya*, 'Weaver of Udumbaragarta who was too lazy (*alasa*) to perform the elaborate orthodox rituals'
Alasabhīrubhiš *udumbaragartīyatantuvāyavat* (tat parigrahaḥ) (p. 907)[7-8]
6. *Kāṇācārya*, 'name of a sophist or student of a logic who became a Buddhist through foolishness (*mohāt*).'
Kutarkābhyāsibhiš ca mohāt *Kānācāryādivat* (p. 907)[14]
7. *Śauṇḍika*[10], 'name of an indiscreet person (*avivekī*) who joined the heterodox fold'
avivekibhiš ca pāṣaṇḍisaṁsargāt *Śauṇḍikādivat* (p. 907)[16]
8. *Śarabha*, 'name of a man attracted to the Buddhist camp by the abundance of food (*bhakṣa*) and drink (*peya*) available there.'
Bhakṣapeyādy advaitarucibhiš ca rāgāt *sarabhādivat* (p. 907)[12]
9. *Sāmānya*, 'name of an indigent Jain, unable to make a living, who was lured into the Buddhist fold by money'[11]
Ayogyair āvī (jī?) vanāt *śāmānyaśramaṇakavat* (p. 907)[20]
10. *Subhūti*, 'name of a house-holder (*gṛhastha*) who took up to Yogic discipline and who, unable to stand its rigours, found the opposite camp attractive.'
Yogābhyāsābhimānibhiš cāvyagratābhisandhaḥ *subhūtyādivat* (p. 907)[17-18]

In enumerating among Buddhists a weaver, a vendor of liquor, a juggler, a glutton and an extremely indigent man with no means of living, Udayana's object seems[12] to be to show that people became Buddhists, not through intellectual needs or conviction, but with the object of fulfilling some abject personal objective like money, food and drink.

8. Ed. Bibliotheca Indica, No. 170, Calcutta, 1939
9. This seems to be a general term for all the non-orthodox (*avaidika*).
10. The name may also refer to his profession as a vendor of spirituous liquor.
11. For clear explanation of the points in this and the next passage see the commentaries of Śankaramiśra and Raghunathasiromani on them.
12. pp. 907—908.

E. R. Srikrishna Sarma

Some Aspects of Bhartrhari's Philosophy

Though there had been a regrettable break in the tradition of the study of the *Vākyapadīya* for a long time, recently some enthusiastic scholars both in India and abroad have taken up this important text for their serious studies.[1] Yet, most of them are primarily concerned with the linguistic theories held by Bhartṛhari and not with the fundamental philosophy on the basis of which he has developed his linguistic theories. This article makes an attempt to point out some aspects of Bhartṛhari's Metaphysics as found in his *Vākyapadīya.*

The *Vākyapadīya* is mainly based on the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali on which Bhartṛhari has also written a commentary. The latter describes the *Mahābhāṣya* as a reservoir of all fundamental thoughts of philosophy.[2] The same is more true with the *Vākyapadīya.* For, Bhartṛhari gives many divergent theories with regard to each problem of philosophy he discusses and suggests a happy synthesis of all by maintaining that the differences in the theories are only due to the difference in the standpoints from which they are viewed.[3] Though this kind of treatment is perfectly consistent with the lofty spirit of the philosopher, the student in search of the author's own views finds himself sometimes in a difficult position.

If we were to believe the traditional account, the authenticity of which has been disputed by many a scholar, although without much success, the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*, the *Yoga-sūtras* and the *Caraka-saṃhitā* is one and the same person. Bhartṛhari too seems to be holding the same view, though he does not make a specific mention to that effect. His commentators, however, interpret the view as held by him by reading between the lines.[4]

1. Prabhāt Candra Cakravarti: *The Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar*, Calcutta, 1930. J. Brough: *Audumbarāyaṇa's Theory of Language*, Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, XIV, P.I; *Theories of General Linguistics in the Sanskrit Grammarians.* Transactions of the Philological Society, London, 1951. Betty Heiman: *Sphota and Artha*, A volume of studies presented to Prof. P. V. Kane. K. A. Subramania Aiyar: *The Doctrine of Sphota*, Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute, V. G. N. Bhattācārya: *A study in the Dialectics of Sphota*, Journal of the Department of Letters, University of Calcutta, 1937. K. Kunjunni Raja: *Sphota: The Theory of Linguistic symbols:* The Adyar Library Bulletin, XX Parts 1—2; etc. Gaurīnātha Śāstri: *The Philosophy of Word and Meaning*, Calcutta.

2. *Vākyapadīya:* II. 485: सर्वेषां न्यायबीजानां महाभाष्ये निबन्धने

3. ibid.: I. 75: भिन्नं दर्शनमाश्रित्य व्यवहारोऽनुगम्यते ।

4. ibid.: I. 147: कायवाग्बुद्धिविषया ये मला समवस्थिता: ।
चिकित्सालक्षणाध्यात्मशास्त्रैस्तेषां विशुद्धय: ।

Commenting on II. 481, Puṇyarāja refers to this verse as agreeing with the traditional account referred to above.

If it is true, Patañjali was a follower of the *Sāmkhya* system of philosophy. The *Yuktidīpikā* mentions the name of Patañjali as *Sāmkhyācārya;* the philosophy of the *yoga-sūtras* is not different from that of the *Sāmkhya* with the exception of admitting God in the *Caraka-samhitā* avowedly adheres to the *Sāmkhya* system. Nāgeśa the latest authentic and dependable grammarian of highest acumen, also seems to support the tradition, by citing the *Caraka-samhitā* and the *Yoga-sūtras* along with the *Mahābhāṣya* in several instances.[5] Thus the acceptance of this traditional view would naturally lead us to the hope of finding Bhartṛhari as a follower of the *Sāmkhya* thought. But the expectation does not prove to be true. The fundamental philosophy of Bhartṛhari as seen in the *Vākyapadīya* is *Advaita.* This does not, however, make us distrust the traditional account of Patañjali referred to above, especially, when we remember the vast gap in between the times of the authors of the *Mahābhāṣya* and the *Vākyapadīya.*

The fundamental difference between the *Sāmkhya* and *Advaita* is that while the former maintains matter as the source of the universe, the latter admits of an Intelligence beyond that from which the whole universe comes into being. Though we are sure that Bhartṛhari was an *Advaitin* we are not in a position to determine the details of his view from the *Vākyapadīya.* Unfortunately, his commentary on the *Brahma-sūtras* of Bādarāyaṇa, which Yāmunācārya refers to in his *Siddhitraya,*[6] is irretrievably lost to us. In the *Vākyapadīya* there is a reference to *Vidyābhāṣyas,*[7] which might be the author's commentary on the *Brahma-sūtras.* That Bhartṛhari was a predecessor of Śaṅkara, whose is the oldest commentary on the *Brahma-sūtras* extant in its entirety, is beyond doubt. So a correct assessment of Bhartṛhari's *Advaita* will be very helpful in finding out the pre-Śaṅkara position of *Advaita* thought, and in evaluating Śaṅkara's contribution to it more or less correctly.

But Bhartṛhari is not only an *Advaitin* but also a *Vaidika* in the truest sense of the term. He does not seem to make the distinction of *Karma-kāṇḍa* and *Jnāna-kāṇḍa* as the later *Advaitins* have done. He takes the *Veda* as a whole and calls it by the term *brahmarāśi.* He maintains that the divergent views of the absolutists and the dualists are based on the eulogistic passages (*artha-vāda*) found in the *Vedas.*[8] His erudition in the Vedic lore is evident from his citing numerous Vedic passages to illustrate his grammatical theories.[9] Moreover, he holds with Yāska that *Veda* is the direct knowledge experienced

5. *Vaiyākaraṇa-siddhānta-laghu-mañjūṣā.* Chs. I and II
6. See the introduction of Cārudeva Śāstri to his edition of *Vākyapadīya,* p.3
7. Bhartṛhari's own explanation of his verse I. 129: स्वपरभागवादिनां दर्शनं विद्याभाष्येभ्यः प्रतिपत्तव्यम् ।
8. *Vākyapadīya;* I. 8 तस्यार्थवादरूपाणि निश्रिताः स्वविकल्पजा । एकत्विनां द्वैतिनां च प्रवादा बहुधा मताः ।
9. See III. 1251, 1278, etc.

by the Seers.[10] In that view the *Veda* is not an object of knowledge in the ordinary sense. It is the knowledge itself.[11] It is likened to the knowledge in the dream where the knowledge and the object known cannot be distinguished.[12] The *śruti* or *Veda* which is a mass of sounds is only the utterences of those Seers, who out of love and sympathy wanted to convey their experiences to persons unable to have the same experience. Whether as a necessary consequence of this taking the whole *Veda* as a single unit Bhartṛhari held the view of *Jñānakarmasamuccaya*,[13] which the later *Advaitins* like Bhāskara and the Kashmir Śaivites advocate, and against which Śaṅkara directs his uncompromising criticism is not clear from the *Vākyapadīya*.

As any other Vedic philosopher, Bhartṛhari too, accepts *Brahman* as the ultimate reality out of which the entire articulated universe emerges. Naturally, the universe which originates from *Brahman* dissolves in it at the end. But *Brahman*, which transcends all assumptions, is not affected by the origination or dissolution of the universe. *Brahman* is not characterised as *sat-cid-ānanda;* but it holds within itself innumerable forces or potentialities; the relationship between these forces and *Brahman* is neither identity nor non-identity. Though in truth *Brahman* is indivisable and impartite it can be viewed as having apparent divisions of *vidyā* and *avidyā*. As time is a force emerging from *Brahman*, *Brahman* is time-less; eternal having no beginning and ending. *Brahman*, the cause, and universe, the effect, are not different from each other. These characteristics of *Brahman* are common to the other *Advaitins* also. But Bhartṛhari makes it clear that his *Brahman* is the essence of *śabda* (*śabda-tattvam*): also it is the cause of phonemes (*akṣaram*). This seems to be his fundamental philosophy on which he bases his *sphoṭa* theory of linguistics.[14]

There are numerous statements in the *Vedas* that *vāk* sometimes called as *śabda* has become the universe.[15] There is also the statement that the Creator created the worlds after uttering the words denoting them.[16] The *Brahma-sūtra* states that *Brahman* is *śāstrayoni*,[17] which Śaṅkara interprets as from *Brahman* all *Vedas* originated and also as *Vedas* are the means to realise *Brahman*. It is also difficult to explain how the absolute *Brahman* which

10. ibid.: I. 5 यां सूक्ष्मामनीन्द्रियां वाचमृषयः साक्षात्कृतधर्माणो मन्त्रदृशः पश्यन्ति तामसाक्षात्कृतधर्मभ्योऽपरेभ्यः प्रवेदयिष्यमाणा विल्मं समामनन्ति ।

11. ibid.: एकोऽयं वेदाख्यो दर्शनात्मनि स्थितो दृश्योऽर्थः ।

12. ibid.: I. 146: ते च स्वप्न इवाश्रोत्रगम्यं शब्दं प्रज्ञयैव सर्वमाम्नायं .....पश्यन्ति ।

13. cf: उभाभ्यामेव पक्षाभ्यां पक्षिणः खे यथा गतिः ।
तथैव ज्ञानकर्मभ्यां मोक्षं प्राप्नोति पूरुषः ।।

14. *Vākyapadīya*, I. 1 and Bhartṛhari's commentary on it.

15. वागेव विश्वा भुवनानि जज्ञे वाच इत्सर्वममृतं यच्च मर्त्यम् ।

16. स भूरिति व्याहरत्, *etc.*

17. 1. 1.3

transcends everything becomes the source of the universe. Here it seems that Bhartṛhari effects a synthesis by admitting, on the one hand, the transcendental absolutism, and, on the other, *Brahman's* capacity to originate the universe. *Brahman* is the essence of *śabda;* it transcends *śabda.* Yet, it evolves into universe by virtue of its being *śabda.* To put it in other words, the absolute *Brahman* is transcendental; but that which is the origin of the universe is *śabda-brahman.*[18] Thus the transcendental nature of Advaitic *Brahman* is harmonized with the Vedic passages which proclaim the *vāk* or *śabda* as the source of the universe.

Now it is to be enquired what is meant by *śabda-brahman.* Is it different from the absolute *Brahman*? Not exactly; yet there is this much difference. *Śabda-brahman* is that state of *Brahman* in which it is ready to evolve into the universe in its diversity. All *Vedāntins* have accepted such a state whether they call it the 'desire to create' (*sisṛkṣā*), 'sport' (*līlā*) or 'magic power' (*māyā-śakti*). How such a state comes about nobody knows; or only the *yogins* know of it. Bhartṛhari calls that state by the name *śabda* out of which the entire universe comes into being. This *śabda* or *vāk* can now be viewed as the first of the creations. It is not totally different from *Brahman* as the rays of the sun are not different from the sun. It is not sound, but is essentially knowledge. The Upaniṣadic passage,

यस्सर्वज्ञस्सर्ववित् यस्य ज्ञानमयं तपः ।
तस्मादेतद् ब्रह्म नाम रूपमन्नं च जायते ॥

completely agrees with this view.[19] Moreover, in the *Chāndogya* it is said that *tejas* was the first creation to come about. *Tejas* is *vāk.* Thus, Bhartṛhari's *śabda-brahman* is, as it were, the first articulation of *Brahman* and from it proceeds the rest of the creation.

Yet from another point of view it is accepted by all *Vedāntins* that the entire universe is a mixture of name and form (*nāma-rūpa*). What is name and what is form? Form is the external cover and name is the internal essence. If the body is the form, the mind is the name. The thoughts first transform themselves into names or sounds and then into meanings or objects. Thus the theory of *śabda-brahman* is not uncommon to the *Vedānta.*

To put it in the linguistic way, the relation between word and meaning is eternal. That is to say every idea in the mind has a counterpart in a word; the word and the thought are inseparable. The external part of one and

18. cf. *Laghumañjūṣā,* p 172. 3 अस्मात् बिन्दोः शब्दब्रह्मापरनामधेयं नादमात्रमुत्पद्यते। एतज्जगदुपादानमेव ।

It will be very interesting to compare this theory with that of *Pratyabhijñā* advocated by Kashmir Śaivites.

19. Note the expression "ज्ञानमयं तपः" and compare it with the previous footnote.

the same thing is what we call word and the internal part is what we call thought. Even when we merely think of some thing, say a table, the sound 'table' is faintly pronounced in our mind. The knowledge of table, which is really the wave in the mind-stuff, is caused by the sound vibration external or internal. There cannot be any wave without the impulse of this sound. Thus it is sound, *śabda*, though not in the usual sense of the term in which it is generally understood, is the cause underlying every idea. This is the point of Bhartṛhari in saying that *śabda-brahman* is the origin of the universe.

Bhartṛhari uses the *Yogic* terminology of *parā*, *paśyantī*, *madhyamā* and *vaikharī* in enumerating the four kinds of *vāk* and declares that the science of grammar deals with all the latter three forms of *vāk*.[20] *Vaikharī* is that which is produced by the vocal organs or other instruments and apprehended by the auditory sense. It is temporal. If we go further, we find that it comes out of our desire to convey some idea to others and is pushed out by the air. At this stage it is a mixture of idea and sound under the control of the vital airs and is called *madhyamā*.[21] Still it is in time and is having some order of sequence. It has got still a subtle form, in which though it is a compound of idea and sound,[22] it is not temporal, and therefore, is not aprehended by ordinary human beings. It is said to be realised by the *Yogins*, who have necessary concentration of mind to get at it. All these three forms of *vāk* are within the range of the science of grammar. The last stage, which is called *parā*, is the *śabda-brahman*, the source of all.

It may be asked what is meant by 'origination' of the universe from the *śabda-brahman*, and what is the nature of relationship between the universe and its source. If it is assumed that the universe is different from *Brahman*, duality is accepted. Otherwise, there is no sense in talking about origination or emanation. Bhartṛhari's view is that *Brahman* evolves into the universe without losing its identity. This kind of evolution he calls by the terms *vivarta* and *pariṇāma*.[23] These two have been sharply differentiated from each other, especially, in the post-Śaṅkara period. *Vivarta* is explained by Bhartṛhari as 'the adopting of a different unreal and diverse form by a single one which does not loose its own nature in doing so!'[24] The analogy of the appearance of the dream objects is also given in this context.[25] Yet it is maintained that the universe is not at all different from *Brahman;* the diversity is entirely satu-

20. *Vākyapadiya:* I, 143 वैखर्या मध्यमायाश्च पश्यन्त्याश्चैतदद्भुतम् ।
अनेकतीर्थभेदायास्त्रय्या वाचः परं पदम् ।।

21. ibid.: बुद्धिमात्रोपादाना ..... सूक्ष्मप्राणवृत्त्यनुगता ।

22. ibid.: प्रतिसंहृतक्रमाऽपि ..... समाविष्टक्रमशक्ति... ।

23. ibid.: 1 विवर्ततेऽर्थभावेन I. 108, शब्दस्य परिणामोऽयम्.....शब्देभ्य एव व्यवर्तत ।

24. ibid.: I. 1 एकस्य तत्त्वादप्रच्युतस्य भेदानुकारेणासत्यविभक्तान्यरूपोपग्राहिता विवर्तः।

25. स्वप्नविषयप्रतिभासवत् ।

rated with *Brahman*. As for nature of relationship between *Brahman* and the universe, he seems to be lenient towards the doctrine of identity in difference (*bhedābheda*). But whether this *bhedābheda* is in agreement with that which is found in the *Viśiṣṭādvaita* of Rāmānuja, or in the *Advaita* of Bhāskara, Bhartṛprapañca, Nimbārāka, or Yādavaprakāśa, is to be carefully ascertained. This is not within the scope of this short article.

The ultimate purpose of every branch of learning in India was the liberation of the soul from its wordly bondage. The view as to what is liberation may be varying; but there was no shadow of doubt as to its being the ultimate goal and value of life. Thus though grammar might have originated primarily to facilitate a successful study of the *Vedas*, as Patañjali himself states,[26] and as is evident from its being called the first limb of the *Veda*, Bhartṛhari, who raises the grammar to the position of a *darśana*, or philosophy, on a par with any other system of philosophy, makes the assurance that study of the grammar is the first step leading to liberation; nay, it is the royal path directly leading to liberation.[27] And according to him, liberation is the disintegration of knot of ego 'I' and 'my.'[28] By knowing the correct usage of words one acquires an unseen *dharma* which enables him to disentangle himself from the senses including the mind and experience the soul, which experience leads him to *pratibhā* intutional knowledge, which is also called *paśyantī vāk*, wherefrom he becomes one with *śabda-brahman* or *parā-vāk*.[29]

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26. रक्षोहागमलघ्वसन्देहाः प्रयोजनम् ।

27. *Vākyapadīya:* I. 16 इदमाद्यं पदस्थानं सिद्धिसोपानपर्वणाम् ।
इयं सा मोक्षमाणानामजिह्मा राजपद्धतिः ।।

28. ibid.: I. 5 ममाहमित्यहङ्कारग्रन्थिसमतिक्रममात्रं ब्रह्मणः प्राप्तिः ।

29. ibid.: I. 7, 14 see the commentary on the verse.

A. R. G. Tiwari

Crime and Punishment in the Mrcchakatika

The crimes, according to the *Mṛcchakaṭika,* were primarily moral failures of persons living in society. As such each crime was regarded as a moral lapse plus either an act against society or a crime against the state. If it were merely a failure against society only, there was no legal punishment entitled for it, *e.g.*, adultery, gambling, etc. Some of these failures, however, led to some crime, *e.g.*, failure to pay off one's debt incurred in gambling or misappropriation of trust property. If a suit were filed in these cases, it was treated as a failure against society, and not against the law and order in the state. So one does not know if there were crimes against the state except those against the person of the king. Here again, there was no criterion to judge the crime. If the king felt apprehensive of some person, the latter was put in jail without any judicial proceedings. But if this prisoner escaped from the jail, the person assisting the jail-breaker was punished for having committed a crime against the state. So there was no exact line of demarcation between crimes against the king and against the state. And again, crime against the king was such a nebulous element that whenever he felt his position likely to be threatened by any one, the suspect was jailed. The provision of releasing an accused on bail is nowhere in evidence.

So one might say that anti-social activities, according to Sūdraka, fall into three categories, namely 1. those which are purely moral, 2. those which are social-cum-legal in their implications, and 3. those against the king and the law and order of the state.

Lapses in sex-morals

King himself kept ladies of promiscuous origin[1] in his harem[2] and awarded high posts to the relatives of his keeps.[3] Courtesans preyed upon even innocent old Brahmins if the latter were found in the street after evening.[4] Ladies of low birth with no character were in the habit of changing husbands.[5] Ladies visited their lovers (not husbands) even in inclement weather,[6] even the heavy rains could not deter them.[7] Miscreants pursued ladies in the streets[8] and traced out their where[9] abouts in darkness of the night by the fragrance of their flowers and sounds of their ornaments. They even caught their desired

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All the citations from the *Mṛcchakaṭika* are taken from the Chaukhamba edition, 1954.

1. cf., pp. 53, 463
2. p. 461
3. p. 67
4. p. 34
5. p. 277
6. pp. 278—79
7. p. 290
8. p. 35
9. pp. 56—57

lady by hair after entering into the residence of respectable persons.[10] On being rebuked for such a shameless trespass, they did not hesitate to declare the purpose of their unauthorised entry, but they did not forget to apologize for catching a wrong lady by hair.[11] The hanger-on of the city police officer, in one instance, attempted to tempt an unwilling lady to bed with his master,[12] who, in his turn, boastfully claimed the right of killing ladies[13] and to frighten his reluctant lady-love into a terrified submission,[14] if the latter refused to reciprocate his advances.[15] He even ordered his servants and companions to drag the lady by her hair[16] and beat her;[17] and on their refusal to comply with his orders ultimately strangled her himself[18] and afterwards accused some respectable but poor person of that crime.[19] Undying enmity was threatened to innocent persons by this police officer for their refusal to hand him over the wanted lady to make love.[20] The open admission of the incurability of a person attached to another's wife[21] suggests its converse that a married lady attached to another person could not be cured of her habit to commit adultery. Even though married and respectable persons made love with a courtesan, such a contact was not regarded as a social asset and the person conerned was ashamed to admit this shady relationship publicly in a court of law.[22] The courtesans also felt it awkward to reveal the names of their clients in the court of law.[23]

Gambling

Gambling, like adultery, was regarded as an incurable habit.[24] That it was not an offence can be inferred from the fact that the state appointed an officer to supervise over gambling in the capital.[25] In other words, gambling at un-authorised places was a crime.[26] People indulged in this game even when they knew its harmful propensities.[27] Bad circumstances, like impoverishment of the employer, turned a person to gambling as an economic necessity.[28] Some people did acquire friends and wives through gambling but ultimately they lost them again[29] and themselves got reduced to tatters.[30] A gambler had to be patient enough to suffer all sorts of physical tortures like dragging of one's person on pointed pebbles or biting of one's thigh by dogs,[31] etc., Creditor beat mercilessly his gambler-debtor,[32] boxed his nose[33] to bleeding[34] and even sold him away to recover his amount.[35] A legal suit could be filed for the recovery of money against the gambler who

10. pp. 63—64
11. p. 66
12. p. 42
13. p. 45
14. p. 46
15. p. 48
16. p. 407
17. p. 410
18. p. 429
19. p. 453
20. pp. 79—80
21. p. 146
22. pp. 482—83
23. cf. pp. 470—71
24. p. 146
25. pp. 104, 251
26. *Arthaśāstra* III, 20
27. p. 105
28. cf. p. 134
29. p. 114
30. pp. 115—16
31. pp. 117—18
32. p. 109
33. p. 122
34. p. 122
35. p. 112

failed to clear off his dues.[36] Gamblers, on losing money in the game fled away from their creditors[37] and, after walking backwards to elude the pursuers, seated themselves on the empty pedestal in a temple as a deity.[38]

Offence against property

Offences against property can be divided into two categories *viz.*, 1. misappropriation of trust property; 2. theft, robbery etc., The first came under civil liability and the latter was a crime.

Misappropriation of trust

Some people misappropriated the property left in trust with them, if the transaction was oral. Later on, they demanded legal proof for it and cleanly pocketed the property.[39] However, honest persons did not seem it becoming to do so and willingly suffered themselves a considerable loss to make good the loss of the trust property if the latter were even stolen away from their custody.[40]

Stealing and Robbery

Stealing had two reasons behind it: 1. Psychological and 2. Social or socio-economic. The psychological reason lay in the belief of some persons, who preferred stealing to slavery,[41] that in courage lay wealth[42] for those who were not afraid of the punishment from the king.[43] The socio-economic cause lay in the necessities like payment for the manumission of the slave-girls by their lovers to their owners.[44]

There was a regular science of stealing and it seems, as if thieves observed its rules.[45] They stole at night[46] by eluding the watchmen.[47] Thieves were deft in finding out a suitable place, softened by daily pouring of water, in a secluded corner of an already pulverised wall, to bore a hole[48] large enough to let in a person creeping on his belly.[49] Before entering into the house they at first tried a dummy and even after getting into it they first of all wanted to be sure, with the aid of lamp and other methods, if any one inside the house was awake.[50] They poured water in the sockets of the hinges of the doors to prevent them from making noise.[51] Next, they, employed tantric devices to find out if there was any buried wealth.[52] It appears that theft of master's property by the domestic servants[53] and the false accusation of the domestic servants by the master's[54] were not uncommon.

36. p. 126
37. p. 101
38. p. 103
39. cf. p. 181
40. cf. p. 187
41. p. 158
42. p. 201
43. p. 216
44. cf. p. 200
45. p. 160
46. p. 92
47. p. 194
48. p. 158
49. p. 156
50. p. 166
51. p. 165
52. p. 167
53. pp. 541—42
54. p. 551

Equipment of thieves

Measuring tape,[55] dummy,[56] medicine for snake-bite[57] and implement for boring hole in a house-wall[58] constituted the chief items in the paraphernalia of a thief. In the absence of a measuring rod, a Brahmin-thief could use his sacred thread instead.[59]

Code of conduct among thieves

Even though sons of a *Veda*-knowing Brahmins were attracted to this profession, such persons felt ashamed to commit theft in the house of a Brahmin and did not forget to blame themselves for doing so.[60] Usually, chivalrous thieves did not remove ornaments from the person of ladies[61] nor did they commit theft in the house where ladies only resided.[62] The property left in trust with a Brahmin or the articles collected for sacrifice were also not touched by such respectable thieves.[63] Similarly, it was regarded unbecoming for a theif to strike a person who was either terrified or asleep.[64]

Robbery and child-lifting

The very accusation of Śakāra against Cārudatta of having murdered Vasantaśenā for her ornaments,[65] suggests that robbery accompanied with murder was not unknown. Similarly, the boast of Śarvilaka to Madanikā that he had not snatched away any child from its mother[66] suggests that others who did not have such scruples did it and that he himself would have lifted away a child if it was not in its mother's arms.

Crimes against king

As pointed out earlier an action against the king ultimately turned into a crime against the state, *e.g.*, aiding a prisoner, wrongfully confined by the king, to escape from his custody ended as a crime against the state when in the beginning it was simply rescuing a helpless victim and helping him to escape from the unauthorised wrongful confinement by a person who happened to be a king. However much these acts might bear a tendency to coalesce, it cannot be denied that it is always better to keep them separate and distinct.

In those days when usurpation through regicide was very common, kings were greatly afraid of losing their lives and kingdoms at the hands of any rival or an upstart. That is why, any person likely to jeopardise the safety of the person of the king fell a victim to king's wrath. So, believing in some prophecy that a certain cattle-rearer Āryaka was going to be the king of Ujjayini in future, the then ruling king Pālaka,[67] without any other valid reason,[68] tore that innocent Āryaka from his family[69] and imprisoned him[70] with heavy

55. p. 162
56. p. 165
57. p. 164
58. cf. 158
59. p. 163
60. p. 170
61. p. 202
62. p. 196
63. p. 202
64. p. 205
65. p. 465
66. p. 202
67. p. 224
68. p. 227
69. p. 365
70. p. 224

chains so heavy that even after their removal, the poor Āryaka could not walk with ease.[71] This made the friends of the victim the enemies of the king.[72] They planned and ultimately succeeded in releasing their friend from the prison after killing the guards and breaking his fetters.[73] When such an innocent person broke away from the prison, even respectable persons felt happy at it[74] although not without fear[75] to their personal safety.[76] They even got him conveyed in their covered carriages[77] after removing his fetters and wished him good luck.[78] Even the royal watchman protected such a run away, if the latter sought his protection,[79] offered him sword[80] and wished him success against the reigning chief.[81] When a person, who was already proclaimed by soothsayers to be the future king, escaped from the prison, riff-raff of the capital gathered around him.[82] Erring officials joined him.[83] Their friends also excited the disgruntled members of the royal family, ministers of the state, persons offended by insults at king's hands. and other crafty and war-like persons to join the king's enemy with their sons, brothers and other members of the family.[84] Ultimately, the anti-king party succeeded in killing the king [85] in the sacrificial chamber[86] during the sacrifice[87] and placed their own friend on the throne.[88] At that time all the friends of the usurper were rewarded.[89]

Law and order

Even though the king was regarded as the protector of all helpless persons in the realm[90] his brother-in-law (who also happened to be the chief police officer of the capital) roamed in the streets after the night fall with his companions, either to trap innocent persons[91] or chase beautiful ladies.[92] Other wretches pursued ladies in the darkness of night for money [93] However, watchman patrolled the city at night.[94] When someone escaped from the royal prison, special officers were fixed at strategic points of the city to get him back.[95] They had a right to search even covered carriages.[96] Some of these guards were willing to let some covered carriage of a respectable person pass without inspection[97]; Others objected to it and insisted on carrying out the king's command.[98] A person, even if he were an official, was given fourfold punishment[99] for obstructing a state servant in the discharge of his duties.[100] Spies watched the movements of the people and reported to the

71. p. 367
72. cf. pp. 225—27
73. p. 327
74. p. 362
75. pp. 369—70
76. pp. 365—66
77. pp. 365
78. p. 368
79. p. 346
80. p. 354
81. p. 356
82. cf. 123
83. cf. pp. 356—57
84. pp. 226—27
85. p. 578
86. p. 582
87. p. 583
88. p. 578
89. cf. p. 583
90. p. 375
91. p. 34
92. p. 35
93. cf. p. 48
94. p. 157
95. pp. 334—35
96. cf. p. 340
97. pp. 339—40
98. pp. 341—43
99. It was shaving of head, caning, confiscation of property and exile of the offender
100. p. 353

king.[101] Complaint of one security officer against his colleague of being obstructed in the discharge of his duties was preferred to the court[102] and not to the departmental head.

Court

Court was called king's court.[103] It was presided over by a judge[104]. Some respectable persons from the town assisted him[105]. The court clerk, who recorded the proceedings,[106] belonged to the Kāyastha caste[107]. As soon as the days' work started, the court peon, announced in loud voice that persons who wanted justice should present themselves personally before the court[108]. This indirectly suggests that the practice of litigating through pleaders was not very much in vogue.

The statement of the complainant was recorded by the clerk in the presence of a Śreṣṭhī a city elderman. Important points in the statement were brought to their notice by the court.[109] After the statement of the complainant was recorded, witnesses were summoned to the court by the judge through the peon to bring them to the court respectfully and with instructions not to disturb them.[110] Witnesses were then asked to state all facts concerning the case in the court without any hesitation.[111] When this preliminary enquiry established *a prima facie* case against the accused, the latter was summoned to the court. If he happened to be a respectable person, the peon was instructed to bring him to the court with all the marks of respect and without letting him disturbed in any way.[112] When a respectable accused appeared before the court, a seat was offered to him[113] inspite of the objection of the accuser.[114] Every effort was made to make the accused comfortable in the court.[115] The accused was also asked to state all facts about the case as known to him without any feeling of hesitation due to sense of delicacy[116] etc., with an added advice that crafty statement did no good to any one in the court of law.[117] During the statement of the accused both the Śreṣṭhin and Kāyastha cross-examined him.[118] If the court showed any partiality towards the accused, the complainant could object to it.[119] While determining the guilt of a person, his past career was taken into consideration.[120] If any enquiry or examination of the site was needed, the court sent some state officer to do so and report back to it.[121] Even though the judge did not himself take the trouble of visiting the spot, the report of the officer who examined the spot, was not accepted without cross examination.[122] However, the failure of the judge to visit the spot himself did result in some injustice due to wrong report,[123]

101. p. 370
102. cf. p. 492
103. p. 353
104. p. cf. 455
105. cf. p. 465
106. cf. p. 466
107. p. 465
108. p. 459
109. p. 465
110. p. 468
111. p. 480
112. p. 471
113. p. 480
114. p. 481
115. pp. 469, 480
116. pp. 483—84
117. p. 483
118. p. 485
119. p. 490
120. pp. 487 ff
121. p. 493
122. p. 494
123. p. 494 cf. the report of Vīraka.

That the court was guided completely by the evidence alone can be inferred from the fact that even though the judge was completely biased in favour of the innocence of Cārudatta, when the evidence on hand pointed to the contrary the latter, was declared guilty of having murdered Vasantaśenā.[124] However, if the decision was arrived at on the strength of oral evidence only and not through the four types of ordeal, the accused regarded himself as being unjustly condemned.[125] The court was concerned only with determining the innocence or guilt of the accused. It was for the king to determine the punishment.[126]

Evidence

While recording the evidence, resemblance an ornament found with the accused with the one reported to have been stolen was not regarded as a satisfactory proof of the alleged guilt because it could as well be due to the goldsmiths' skill in making the same kind of ornaments.[127] Hence, much reliance was placed on confession of the accused.[128] The absence of any notice being taken of the lusterlessness on the face of Śakāra as the consequence of this physical effect of lying[129] suggests that the physical reaction of the accused in the court were possibly, not taken into account in those days.[130]

Undue pressure on judges

However, the practice was different from theory. The judge did not wish to start the court work of the day with the complaint of some notorious person because it foreboded the death of some innocent person.[131] But if that notorious person happened to be king's relative, he could force the judge to hear him by threatening his dismissal. Unscrupulous persons did not hesitate to influence the court, when appearing as complainants, by referring to their high position, status, family relations, designations, etc., and behaved arrogantly with the presiding officer, even going to the extent of taking liberty with the judge and wiping the entries in the records with their feet.[132] Such a person could openly assert in the court that even the king would not punish him for any crime.[133] However, the court did not pay any heed to the family-status of the complainant in procedural matters.[134]

Forced confessions

The judge knew that the litigants concealed true facts from the court and presented false ones.[135] Even respectable persons deposed in a manner exculpating themselves and people latter on blamed the judge for the miscarriage of justice.[136] Self-exculpating evidence of even respectable persons, the judge had to point out, incurred sin and destroyed the deposer.[137] As a

124. p. 513
125. p. 519
126. pp. 515—16
127. p. 509
128. p. 511
129. p. 486
130. *Bhojaprabandha* Ed. Dvivedi, V. G. Ahmadabad. 1933 pt. II verses 235-36 on pp. 300-01
131. p. 460
132. p. 466
133. p. 464
134. cf. p. 464
135. p. 455
136. pp. 455—56
137. pp. 456—57

safeguard, it was held that no person was to be convicted without his confession of the crime for which he was accused. But confessions were forcibly extorted.[138] So some respectable persons, who were, otherwise, determined not to speak like, even if it were to cost them their lives,[139] falsely confessed to crimes they had not committed simply due to the fear of third degree methods.[140]

Qualifications of a judge

A judge was to be an adept in Śāstras, capable of piercing through the cunningness of the litigants, eloquent, angerless and capable of delivering judgements after proper scrutiny, regardless of, and with equal regards for friends, foes, members of his own family and others.[141] He was expected to be able to nourish the weak, to punish the crafty, eager to arrive at the bottom of the issues involved in the case on hand and to avoid the anger of the king on himself.[142]

Punishments

As soon as the guilt of the accused was established, the latter was arrested.[143] The pleading of the mother of the murdered in favour of the accused had no effect on the court once the crime was proved and also confessed by the accused.[144] Sometimes, the ruler released the accused after realizing some compensatory fine.[145] The finding of the court was also recommendatory. Its opinion on the guiltiness (or otherwise) of the accused together with the recommendations about penalty and allied attenuating provisions were reported to the king, who alone took the final decision in the matter.[146] Even though the Code of Manu forbade death sentence on a Brahmin criminal, who had to be simply exiled with all his property, the king could refuse to condone the death sentence on a Brahmin if he was charged with robbery accompanied with murder. On the other hand, he ordered those ornaments, which caused the crime, to be tied around the neck of the culprit while on his way to the execution ground.

The capital punishment was carried out by the Caṇḍālas[147] who were experts in the art of tying (*i.e.*, hanging) and slicing the victim.[148] As soon as the death sentence was confirmed by the king, the victim was decorated with a garland of *karavīra* flowers,[149] painted red with sandal paste[150] palm-marks,[151] wrapped in red cloth,[152] and was made to carry the execution pole on his shoulders to the execution ground.[153] The sandal paste used for painting the body of the accused was mixed with *tila*, rice and *kumkuma*.[154] At suitable points, along the way to the execution site, the cause of the punishment and

138. p. 512
139. pp. 510—11
140. pp. 512—13
141. p. 457
142. p. 458
143. p. 514
144. p. 514
145. p. 558
146. p. 515
147. p. 518
148. p. 521
149. p. 521
150. p. 522
151. p. 523
152. p. 574
153. p. 537
154. p. 524

the confession of the criminal were announced to the public with the beat of drum along with a threat of similar punishment by the king for similar offenders.[155] In the case of Cārudatta such announcements were made five times. The execution ground stood away from the city.[156] Before execution, the last wish of the victim was attended to by the Caṇḍālas.[157] That the victim was not to be disrespectfully addressed by the executors is clear from the rebuke of one Caṇḍāla to the other who addressed Cārudatta in an undignified manner.[158] All along it was emphasised that the execution was being carried out at the behest of the king and that the Caṇḍālas were simply carrying out his orders.[159] That order, without specifying any person by name, simply directed them to execute the person who had committed the alleged crime. So even if the king's brother-in-law, who held the post of the city police chief, were to order to add any one to the list of the condemned persons, the Caṇḍālas declined to do so.[160] Similarly, if the real murderer was later on discovered in the person of king's brother-in-law himself, the Caṇḍālas were ready to hang him as well.[161] Before the actual execution, the victim had to confess his crime once again before the public.[162] If he demurred to do so, force was used against him, which made him comply.[163]

Types of Capital punishments

The executors drew lots to find out as to who among them was to kill the victim.[164] Then the condemned person was either transfixed on the pointed end of a vertical pole[165] or beheaded after being laid down prostrate on his back[166] or torn off by dogs or dragged after tying him fast by ropes or was cut by a saw or drowned or poisoned or killed by any mechanical device.[167] Before actually carrying out the sentence, if any exculpating evidence came to the notice of the Caṇḍālas[168] it was immediately communicated to the king for further orders.[169] The culprit, who tried to escape the punishment, was caught and handed over to the Caṇḍālas by the public with his hands tied to his back.[170] The punishment for assaulting and obstructing the state official in the discharge of his duties was four-fold.

Amnesty

The caṇḍālas delayed the execution of the victim so that the change of the ruler or the birth of a prince might bring amnesty to all the offenders; or the stampede consequent upon the escape of some rogue elephant might offer the victim a favourable opportunity to run away or some one might pay off the king and obtain the release of the condemned.[171]

155. p. 528
156. p. 530
157. p. 532
158. p. 535
159. pp. 538—39
160. pp. 553, 55
161. p. 570
162. p. 556
163. p. 557
164. p. 558
165. p. 561—62
166. p. 566
167. pp. 519, 586
168. p. 545
169. p. 570
170. p. 584
171. p. p. 558

As already suggested by me in my earlier article, the *Mṛcchakaṭika,* along with the *Daśakumāracarita,* gives a picture of the underworld of the 6th century A.D. However, with all the wealth of details of the activities of the dark world, nowhere do we find the actual working of the law-courts in the *Daśakumāracarita.* Herein lies the excellence of the *Mṛcchakaṭika.* It offers us a detailed picture of a criminal trial with all the substantive and procedural laws, relevant to the occasion. That even in those days the judicial machinery functioned, that there were set rules of evidence, and that the monarch, inspite of unlimited powers, did not exercise them in an arbitrary manner is a tribute to the constitutional instinct of the ancient Indian people. It suggests that whatever were the ups and downs upto and during the 6th century A.D. in the political barometer of the country, even the foreign rulers left the judicial machinery almost undisturbed. The only change, which they seem to have made, appears to lie in the abrogation of the privileges of the Brahmins. The Brahmins, so far regarded as unkillable for whatever offence, lost their privileged position in this new set up. They also now received death sentence like an ordinary criminal. Of course, like Cārudatta, they grumbled at it but the days of Brahmanical immunity were gone beyond recall.

B. R. Sharma

The Vedic Ribhus: Whom do they Represent?

The Ṛbhus, who are nearly always associated with Indra, belong to a small group of three divinities. Macdonell includes them among the lower deities for reason of their being 'not regarded as having the divine nature fully and originally.'[1] The individual names of these three divinities, who are collectively known as Ṛbhavaḥ. the Ṛbhus, are Ṛbhu or Ṛbhukṣan, Vibhvan, and Vāja. They are the talented artisans of gods and their five great feats of dexterity,—by virtue of which immortality and divinity were conferred upon them—represent "the making of a car which, horseless, reinless, with three wheels travels space, for the Aśvins; the fashioning for Indra of two bay steeds; the making out of a hide of a cow, seemingly for Bṛhaspati, to milk nectar, of which a variant seems to be the uniting of the mother with her calf; the rejuvenating of their frail parents, doubtless heaven and earth, and, last but not least, the making of Tvaṣṭṛ's one cup into four,"[2] Though they are generally known as the sons of Sudhanvan, there are Vedic passages which refer to them collectively as the 'sons of Indra' and 'children of might' *indraśya sūno śavaso napātaḥ* (IV. 37.4) as also 'the children of Manu' *manor napātaḥ* (III. 60.3), besides Agni being addressed as their brother, *agne bhrātar* (I.161.1).

There are evidences to believe that they were originally human beings apotheosized after their death by virtue of their highly admirable pious acts.[3] Nevertheless, their close association with Indra, their participation in the *soma* drink along with Varuṇa, Maruts, Ādityas, Mountains and Rivers (IV. 34), their relation with high heavens probably as their residence (IV. 37.3), and the imploration of the sinners to the Ṛbhus for bestowing prosperity, and wealth in cattle, horses and heroes (IV. 33.8; 37.5; IV. 34.10), and for granting vigour, nourishment, offspring and dexterity (I.111.2) establish the fact that, whatever may be their origin, they have been regarded as full-fledged gods on a par with any other vedic divinity. Further, they are very frequently invoked to come down to the sacrifice (IV.34.3:37.I) and are offered libations not only at the daily evening sacrifice but also at the sacrifices appropriated to the different seasons of a year.

Sāyaṇa generally identifies them with the rays of the sun. He etymologizes the word on the authority of the Nirukta[4] (XI.15) as "*uru prabhūtam bhāsamānāḥ, ṛtena ādityena bhāsamānā vā ṛteno' dakena udakārtham utpannā*

1. A. A. Macdonell, *The Vedic Mythology*, P. 131.
2. A. B. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads*, P. 177
3. vide *Apotheosis in the Ṛgveda Ṛbhus* by Sitanath Pradhān, ABORI, Vol. 12 P. 57ff.
4. *Ṛbhava uru bhāntīti va, ṛtena bhāntīti va, ṛtena bhavantīti vā.*

vā. raśmīnām urubhāsamānatvam prasiddham. tathā ādityād utpattir api." (I.161.11). He also says in another place, of course again on express authority of Yāska, that *ṛbh*-means only light in general *uru bhātīti nirukta-vyutpattyā ṛbhu-śabdaḥ prakāśa-mātra-vāch*-(I.111.2). Macdonell, however, derives *ṛbhu* from the root *ṛbhu* ' to grasp ' and interprets it as ' handy,' ' dexterous.' While commenting on the verse (I.161. 11) Sāyana observes: " ..*purāṇa-prasiddhān sudhanvanaḥ putrānā karmaṇā devatvam prāptavata ṛbhūn stutvā veda-praśiddhyā sūrya-raśmi-rūpān ṛbhūn idānīm stauti.*" Sāyaṇa here simply recorded the Ṛbhu myths as they are revealed in the *Purāṇas* where the sons of Sudhanvan, their name sakes are said to have attained apotheosization by virtue of their pious acts. and in the *Vedas* where the Ṛbhus, the deities of the Vedic pantheon, are believed to represent light in general, and the rays of the sun in particular. It was the *purāṇa-prasiddha-ṛbhus* (*i.e.*, the Ṛbhus, well-known in the *Purāṇas*), the sons of Sudhanvan, who were elevated to the ranks of gods on account of their virtuous acts. This Puranic tradition is authenticated by the Vedic evidence *martāsaḥ santo amṛtattvam ānaśuḥ* (I.110.4) which expressly says that mortals as they were, they achieved immortality. But later this distinction between these two classes of deities, was overlooked or confounded. which has caused considerable ambiguity in their identification.

The Ṛbhus who are said to have gone round the sky in swift flight, and come and reposed in the house of liberal Savitṛ, are obviously the rays of the winter sun in the Arctic region. Their relation with Ādityas, Savitṛ and the Sindhus (the Rivers[5] of the celestial region) (IV.34.8), and with Indra who, after slaying Vṛtra, the demon of darkness, set free the pent-up sun-

5. The rivers, mentioned in the Ṛgveda, as they are in the Avesta, are mostly mythical and they represent the celestial rivers which circulate the universe. The vedic concept was that the heaven (ether) is filled with *āpaḥ*, cosmic waters, which are something like the ' perfectly incompressible continuous fluid that circulates with a definite velocity. These cosmic waters in the form of rivers, are believed to circulate around the universe in the ether from east to west and from west to east underneath the earth causing the movement of the heavenly bodies. Light and heat are transmitted to the world through these cosmic currents during their circulation. This cosmic circulation of the eternal waters was sometimes held up by some obstructive cosmic forces which were, in general, termed as Vṛtras (n) or Vṛtra (m) in the Ṛgveda, when the flow of the cosmic waters was obstructed, the heavenly bodies floating thereon come to a standstill and the world is enwrapped in deep darkness and freezing cold. This obstruction happens during winter and in the nether dark region which is the hidden abode *niṇya* of the Vṛtras. Indra, the god of light, at the end of the winter kills Vṛtra, and sets the waters free and when the waters commence their upward march to the living world the rays of light, Ṛbhus, first make their appearance on the horizon followed gradually by the sun and the other heavenly bodies. Thus again the normal life begins in the world till next winter. The description of continuous dawns, celestral fire and of the sun standing still over the head is aptly applicable to the polar phenomenon. Therefore the Vedic scholars like B.G. Tilak and others believed that in the *Vedas*, *Avesta* and other literature of the ancient nations this phenomenon is geographically described in the form of myths and legends.

light, captive waters and imprisoned cows is quite comprehensible when we interpret them as the deities presiding over the solar rays. The legend which the verse IV.33.7 refers to, namely, that the Ṛbhus slept for twelve days in the house of the sun implicitly in the nether region and afterwards made the fields flourish and led the rivers[6] forward, supports the identification of the Ṛbhus with the solar rays. And this identification is further strengthened by an analogous German folkore and mythology referring to twelve nights, slumber of the Sun. Hillebrandt believes that this twelve day slumber refers to the period of twelve nights at the winter solistice and argues further that " in the ritual this is the *Dvādaśāha*, twelve days rite, which is the utmost importance for the ritual as it serves as a model for all *sattras*, and it is in this rite that most of the Ṛbhu hymns are used."[7] Keith, who does not appreciate this convincing and most natural explanation of the twelve days' repose of the Ṛbhus, holds the view that all this is a mere conjecture and observes; " the belief the Indians and Germans preserve the tradition of the twelve days' rest of nature at the winter solistice is a most improbable idea, and the *Dvādaśāha* obviously connects with the number of the months."[8] It is not warranted on what basis Keith has taken *Dvādāśāha* for twelve months.

It is a well-known fact that in the Arctic region the length of days and nights differs according to the latitude. In summer solistice, there will be a long continuous day of the duration of several days of 24 hours with the sun always rotating over the head in the sky, and in winter solistice a long continuous night of the duration of several days, during which period the sun will never appear on the horizon. The length of these un-interrupted day and night varies from a few days to several months at different latitudes; and the reminescence of this striking phenomenon has been preserved in the Vedic literature particularly in the Ṛgveda, the oldest literary monument of the Indo-European race now available. The mythologies of other ancient nations also preserve some remnants of the memory of this remarkable phenomenon and the Esthonian legend referred to by Max Mueller narrates this in the form of a love story.[9] Thus the reference to twelve days' slumber of the Ṛbhus

6. *dvādaśa dyūṇ yad agohyasyā 'tithye raṇann-ṛbhavaḥ sasantaḥ su-kṣetrā' kṛṇvann-anayanta sindhūn dhanvā 'tiṣṭhann-oṣadhīr nimnam āpaḥ.*

7. Hillebrandt: *Vedische: Mythologie*, III. PP. 135-54. Keith, RPV. P. 177.

8. Keith, RPV. P. 178.

9. "Wanna Issi had two servants, Koit and Amanarik, and he gave them a torch which Koit should light every morning, and Amarik, should extinguish in the evening. In order to reward their faithful services, Wanna Issi told them they might be men and wife, but they asked Wanna Issi that he would allow them to remain for ever bride and bride-groom. Wanna Issi assented, and henceforth Koit handed over the torch every evening to Amarik, and Amarik took it and extinguished it. Only during four weeks in summer they remain together at midnight; Koit hands the dying torch to Amarik, but Amarik does not let it die, but lights it again with her breath. Then their hands are stretched out, and their lips met, and the blush of the face of Amarik colours the mid-night sky." *Essays on Mythology and Folk-lore.* P. 190.

in the house of the sun as his guests describes but the disappearance of the sunlight for that period, evidently in the Arctic region.

The Ṛbhus who are said to be the heroes of the firmament, are described as rising to heaven's high sphere (I.110.6); as staying high in heaven (IV..37.3), and as coming with their (sun's) speed (I.110.6). They have set the heaven and the earth asunder (IV.34.9) have brought the mother (earth) close unto her calf (Sun) again (*i.e.*, after the long winter night) (I.110.8); and have encompassed round the heaven in rapid motion in an instant (IV. 33.I). This description of the Ṛbhus, leaves no doubt as to the identity of their personality. Further they are accredited with having made their old and decrepit parents (earth and heaven) youthful as before (I.111.1);[10] they travel far and wide in search of enjoyment and afterwadrs take shelter in the sun's nether home in the evening (I.II0.1) enjoying his hospitality for a period of twelve days (IV.33.7). Again the epithet *sūra-cakṣasaḥ* bright as the sun, (I.110.4) and *vibhvo naraḥ*, far reaching heroes, (IV.34.9) are very significant. Thus it is clear that the Ṛbhus in the Ṛgveda represent the solar rays.

R. Shama Shastry holds that the Tvaṣṭṛ's cup, out of which the Ṛbhus fashioned four cups, represents but the celestial sphere or circle, and that the four cups form the four divisions of the same sphere or circle.[11] This again may be interpreted as rendering the four directions of the celestial hemisphere distinct when the solar rays emanate from the undifferentiated darkness.

The Ṛbhus, therefore, generally represent the solar rays and particularly those of the evening sun. It is noteworthy that they are addressed and offered libations in the third daily sacrifice, and the anxious Vedic *Ṛṣi* addresses them in the evening *Savana*: "Come hither, O ye sons of strength, ye Ṛbhus; stay not afar, ye children of Sudhanvan."[12] (IV.35.1). The *Ṛṣi* obviously feels restless when he thinks that the Ṛbhus (the rays of the sun) are going to the world beneath and the darkness is fast approaching.

The three fold division of the Ṛbhus, the bright deities of the sun-beams, may have been based on the threefold division of the rays of the sun, namely, those of the morning, noon and evening sun. In the verses I.161.11-13, the Ṛbhus, evidently representing the rays of the sun at the declansion of the Arctic winter (*i.e.*, at the end of the year) are addressed as follows:

1. *udvatsv-asmā akṛṇotanā tṛṇam nivatsv-apaḥ sv-apasyayā naraḥ agohyasya yad asastanā gṛhe tad adye'dam ṛbhavo nānu gacchatha.*

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10. *takṣan ratham suvṛtam vidmanā 'apasas takṣan harī indravāhā vṛṣaṇvasū takṣan pitṛbhyām ṛbhavo yuvad vayas takṣan vatsāya mātaram sacā 'bhuvam*

11. *The Ṛbhus and the Four Cups*, Poona Orientalists: Vol. VII. P. 177ff.

12. *(Griffith) iho pa yāta śavaso napātaḥ saudhanvanā ṛbhavo mā 'pabhūta asmin hi vaḥ savane ratna-dheyam gam ntvaindram anu vomadāsaḥ*

2. *sam mīlya yad bhuvanā paryasarpata kva svit tātyā pitarā va āsatuḥ aśapta yaḥ karasnam va ādade yaḥ Prā' bravīt pro'tasmā abravītana*

3. *suṣupvāmsa ṛbhavas tad apṛcchatā'gohya ka idam no abūbudhat śvānam basto bodhayitāram abravīt samvatsara idam adyā vyakhyata*

1. 'O heroes ye sent the grass to the uplands; ye stored waters in the deep with benevolent view; as ye have already reposed in the house of one whom none can hide, O Ṛbhus, do not prolong it (the sleep) now.

2. 'Ye glided away encompassing the worlds (in darkness). Where were your venerable parents (during your departure)? Ye curesd him who arrested your arm; ye replied sternly to him who spoke disrespectfully (to you).

3. 'Ṛbhus, inclined to continue their sleep, asked 'O Agohya who awakened us now?' the sun declared the hound to be the awakener; the year (being ended) ye again unclosed your eyes.'

These verses refer to the sun-light pent-up in the nether region along with the cosmic waters during the long Arctic winter. The grass which the Ṛbhus are said to have sent to the uplands, *i.e.*, the upper region, obviously represents the darkness. When the Ṛbhus go to repose in the house of the sun in the nether region, the darkness comes up therefrom and envelops the upper region. The Vedic *Ṛṣi* reminds the Ṛbhus that they had slept their fill and cautions them not to prolong their sleep. He admonishes them for their irresponsible departure causing the world to be shrouded in darkness. He desires to know the whereabouts of their loving parents, the sun and the moon. The Ṛbhus who are not yet inclined to relinquish their repose, are said to have been awakened by the dog (the morning star) and the sun warns them that the year is fast approaching its end and asks them to light up the world.

divā yānti maruto bhūmyā 'gnir ayam vāto antarikṣena yāti.
adbhir yāti varuṇaḥ samudrair yuṣmān icchantaḥ śavaso napātaḥ
(I.161.14).

"The Maruts move in heaven, Agni on earth. This wind advances through the firmament. Varuṇa comes through the waters of the ocean; all desirous of your presence, O sons of strength." This verse describes fascinatingly glorious situation just commencing when the Ṛbhus are awakened, and the first rays of light pierced the dense darkness of the long winter of the polar region. These piercing rays are the precursors of the enchanting Uṣase, the rotating dawns, which gradually make their appearance in the horizon at the approaching end of the Arctic winter. It is noteworthy that a corresponding description of the movement of the wind, waters, etc., when the sun begins to shine after the wintry night is found in the Avesta,[13] that great Pārśi scripture.

In conclusion the Ṛbhus represent the solar deities presiding over the rays of the sun. The legend connected with these can be traced back to Indo-European period. The description of the phenomenon that manifests on the appearance of the Ṛbhus answers well the unique phenomenon of the Arctic region. Their threefold division is in conformity with the threefold division of the day for sacrificial purposes in the form of three *savanas*, litenies morning, midday and evening. This division is also applicable to the polar triple phenomenon connected with the sun, namely, the sun and his rays at the decline of winter, the sun in summer and the sun and light gradually disappearing in the eve of winter. Thus Ṛbhus represent the bright celestial phenomenon and are the deities of the Indo-European origin.

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13. vide Fargard V. 12-13; 41-44; Tilak, *Arctic Home in the Vedas*, p. 270ff.

Bhabatosh Bhattacharya

GOVINDANANDA'S DEFINITION OF ASAUCA

Govindānanda, the 16th century digest-writer of Bengal, wrote at least four digests on *Smṛti*[1] and several commentaries, including one on the *Prāyaścittaviveka* of Śūlapāṇi, his provincial predecessor, who flourished two centuries earlier. The *Śuddhikaumudī* is one of those digests. The text contains 360 pages and is divided into three separate portions, *viz.*, (1) *aśauca* (ceremonial impurity), pp. 1-180; (ii) *kālaśuddhi* (determination of and acts forbidden in a *malamāsa* or intercalary month), pp. 180—296; and (iii) *dravyaśuddhi* (determination of purity of things like water), pp. 297-360. We are concerned here with the definition of *aśauca*, as stated by our author in the very beginning (pp. 1–5) of his above-mentioned work.

Śuddhi (ceremonial purity) consists in the eligibility of performing acts, laid down in the *Vedas*, which eligibility varies with every different act. The particular mandatory prescriptions about the proper person, proper time etc., for the performance of any specific act are collectively known as the *śuddhi* of the same. It is not to be argued that the above definition does not apply to the case in which there is non-eligibility owing to the non-performance of the *ācamana* (*i.e.*, sipping of water) which is a necessary part of the religious act, in spite of the existence of *śuddhi*. The eligibility does exist even in that case. But when such acts as putting on the upper garment, *ācamana*, etc.; which are the requisites of the act itself, are left undone, a deficiency in the parts of the act occurs and thereby the act itself becomes doubled (*i.e.*, by doing the undone parts with the done once over again). So it cannot be said that there is the absence of *śuddhi* in that case and, therefore, that *ācamana* is spoken of as a part of the act itself.

Now with the intention of determining *śuddhi* we shall first describe the *śuddhi* of *aśauca*, through the process of defining the latter, which is the opposite of the former.

Somebody has said that *aśauca* consists in the production of non-eligibility of contact with one's kith and kin in cases where such non-eligibility can be removed by actions other than *śānti* (*i.e.*, propitiation of the malefic planets etc.). This is wrong because the above definition does not apply to those cases of *aśauca* where the period of untouchability of each other's person has been over and also to cases of the birth of *sapiṇḍas* (*i.e.*, agnates within seven degrees) or of a daughter. It cannot also be said that *aśauca* is nothing but the non-eligibility of performing religious acts in cases where such non-eligibility can be removed by actions other than *śānti*, as this definition

1. The *Varṣakriyākaumudī*, *Dānakriyākaumudī*, *Śrāddhakriyākaumudī* and *Śuddhikaumudī*, edited by the late M. M. Kamalakṛṣṇa Smṛtitīrtha and published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, 1902-1905.

cannot apply to cases of immediate purity (*sadyaḥśauca*), where the impurity is removable by simple bathing. The above definition is also too wide to include bleeding, shaving, belching, vomitting, touching leeches etc., as the text of the *Kālikāpurāṇa*[2] lays down that all the above render the religious act null and void. The deferred *śrāddha*, intended for a single person and to be performed on such days, is done in those cases in the next following days. The definition is also too wide as it might include the cases of menstruation of women.

Basing on the statement of Manu (V. 66) occurring in the context of *aśauca*[3] it should not also be argued that there is *aśauca* for a woman even in her menstruation period. For a definition should be formulated with reference to the thing to be defined, which should not, on the contrary, be so changed as to fit in with the definition. Otherwise there will be an unwarranted licence. The word *aśauca* is also found neither in the *dharmaśāstra* works nor in popular usage to apply to any kind of act, involving any kind of uncleanliness, such as menstruation of a woman, bleeding, shaving, vomitting, touching a leech etc. On the contrary, the text of Yājñavalkya[4] (III. 30 a) has differentiated between *aśauca* and any other kind of uncleanliness and has thus prohibited the use of the word *aśauca* in the case of menstruation of a woman.

Manu has, in the verse referred to above, spoken of the purification even in the case of menstruation of a woman in the course of his prescription of the same in the case of abortion. It does not mean that menstruation is an *aśauca;* otherwise the performance of the rites, subsequent to *aśauca* would have been prescribed. Besides, on the strength of the text of the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*,[5] there will be the possibility of offering *piṇḍas* to a just deceased person by a woman even during her menses. Because this would be a case similar to one where a person is enjoined to offer *piṇḍas* with regard to a dead relative even if he is undergoing *aśauca* due to some other cause. Besides there would be the possibility of performing expiatory rites, to be performed on account of the partaking of meals from persons, who are bleeding, vomitting etc., as is the case on doing the same from a person undergoing *aśauca*.

2. " One should not even perform one's daily duties, if there is a wound on a portion of the body above the knees, birth or death in the family of one's agnates, shaving, sexual intercourse, belching, vomitting, touching leeches, snakes and worms called *kṛmi* and *gaṇḍūpada* intentionally with the hands."

3. " In cases of miscarriage, a woman becomes ceremonially purified in nights (*i.e.*, full days) equal to the number of months she was carrying and a menstruating woman also becomes similarly pure by taking a bath after the cessation of the menses."

4. " If a person is touched by a menstruating woman or a person undergoing *aśauca*, he should then take a bath and then touch all other persons."

5. " If there is an *aśauca*, all the persons of the same *gotra* become untouchable but if the *aśauca* falls within the period of the performance of *śrāddha* for a just deceased person, the *piṇḍas* should be offered for the propitiation of the soul of such person (*i.e.*, his *śrāddha* should be performed) "

Moreover, the word *aśauca*, implying any kind of uncleanliness, removable by efforts, and the term *sūtaka*, meaning only the kind of impurity arising out of birth and death, have different imports, being themselves in the nature of the general and special terms. So in accordance with the text of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga prescribing the general impurity[6] and that of Śaṅkha (XV. 24), laying down the special one,[7] and also due to the occurrence of the word '*preta-piṇḍa-kriyā-varjam*' (*i.e.*, except the rite of offering *piṇḍas* to a just deceased person) in the latter text, the above word serving the purpose of an exception to an exception, the performance of the annual *śrāddha* intended for a just deceased single person, to be performed on the *tithi* of death of that person, becomes imperative within the period of impurity.

(The M.S. *Kha* adds the following extract here:—As an offering of the (*pūraka*) *piṇḍas* on the tenth day of death of a deceased person, if made in a period of *sūtaka* impurity, is rendered null and void owing to the prohibition of its performance at such a time and, as also the special saving phrase *viz.*, *preta-piṇḍa-kriyā-varjam* does away with the similar prohibition of performance of the annual *śrāddha* of a just deceased single person, to be performed on the *tithi* of death of that person, falling within the period of *aśauca* due to birth or death; so the latter becomes fit to be performed even in such *aśauca* owing to the applicability of the word *aśuddhi* (*i.e.*, impurity) to general cases and due to that of the word *sūtaka* to special cases. Further the texts of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga and Śaṅkha refer to different contexts, the former concerning itself to the impurity other than that arising out of birth or death).

If we take the words *aśauca* and *sūtaka* to be synonymous, then there occurs the conflict of two texts bearing on the same topic, which, being reconciled by the principle of *eka-vākyatā* (*i.e.*, the maxim of two or more conflicting texts forming a contextual whole), lay down that the annual *śrāddha* as well that intended for a just deceased single person is to be performed on the expiry of *sūtaka* and not otherwise. So on the authority of the text, "If an obstacle arises during the course of performance of a *śrāddha* or if the day of death of the person, for whom the *śrāddha* is to be done, is not known, the same should be gone through on an eleventh *tithi*, specially of a dark fortnight." the annual *śrāddha* and that intended for a just deceased single person, (the performance of which has been obstructed on account of menstruation of the performing woman), are to be performed on the eleventh *tithi* of a dark fortnight and not after the cessation of the menses.

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6. If an *aśauca* falls before the performance of a *śrāddha* to the fathers, the same should be performed after the expiry of *aśauca*.

7. A gift, an acceptance of gift, *homa* (*i.e.*, oblation to fire), study of the *Vedas* and obsequial rites for the father, except the offering of *piṇḍas* to a Just deceased person (*preta-diṇḍa-kriyā-varjam*), cease in a sūtaka. (śaṅkha reads '*aśaucam*' for '*sūtaka*'.

The approved usage of the entire *Gauḍa* country (*i.e.*, Bengal) is that a *śrāddha*, obstructed due to the presence of a wound or of dysentery, may be performed after they have been cured.

In fact, the word *aśauca* has got the special meaning of only that kind of absence of purity, which is due to birth or death and is thus synonymous with the word *sūtaka*. So Dakṣa (VI-la) has defined *aśauca* thus: "I shall now describe *aśauca* which arises only out of the birth or death of a person."[8]

Therefore, the definition of *aśauca* is: the incapacity of doing acts, enjoined by the *Vedas*, on account of birth or death of a person.

It is not to be argued that the above definition is too short to apply to cases of partaking of meals of a person undergoing *aśauca* and of lamentation in the company of the corpse, touching it etc., in as much as death, along with such partaking etc., causes the incapacity of doing the acts spoken of. In cases of the sight of *Rāhu* (*i.e.*, of a solar or lunar eclipse), the *aśauca*, due to death, is extended by analogy, to avoidance of cooked food, throwing away of the cooking pots, taking a purificatory bath etc., in accordance with the text of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*,[9] although there is no *aśauca* in such cases.

Aśauca may also be defined as "the unforeseen result, arising out of birth or death and bringing about incapacity of doing acts, enjoined by the *Vedas*."

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8. Our author reads 'aśaucanthu pravakṣyāmi mṛtyu-prasava-lakṣaṇam', while Dakṣa reads 'sūtakantu pravakṣyami janma-mṛtyu-samudbhavam.'

9. "In cases of eclipse, there is *aśauca*, similar to that on the death of a person."

T. R. Rajagopala Iyer

A CENTUM ON THE BUFFALO

A centum on the buffaloe! And if it is in Sanskrit, and by a bard of Tiruvisanallūr, one feels there is something more than meets the ear in it; and his suspicion turns out right, for the *Mahiṣa-śataka* by Vāñcheśvara Kavi is a satire. The birth of the poem and its aftermath are interesting. In the days before popular support for literature, authors had to throw themselves on the mercy of kings and nobles, or perish. An Augustas or a Maecena, a Bhoja or a Śaḍayappa Vallal had to be found. The brother of Śivāji led a raid to the South and founded the Marāṭa principality of Tanjore. His successors were noted for their patronage of literature, art and music. Śahāji (1684—1710) recognised the budding genius of our author and affectionately called him '*Kuṭṭi Kavi*.'.. Unfortunately, Pratāpa Siṁha who succeeded his father associated with unworthy persons and utterly neglected learning and his *āsthāna-paṇḍitas* were driven to the direct extremes. Our author turned farmer, purchased a buffalo, and won his economic freedom literally by the sweat of his brow, but his indignation consumed him, and half by way of revenge, and half by way of correction, he composed this satire. This was the sanguine hope expressed by him: " It may be that of the kings who come to hear of this my poem on the buffalo, some are keenwitted and discerning enough to seize upon what is good in it; it may be that they come to learn and understand the misdeeds of their officers from a poet's mouth, what he has stated by way of *vyaṅgya*—implication and satire. Let them appoint only such persons of good heredity for such posts as they are fit for, men who will not betray their trust, but who will protect the subjects as their own children and according to the dictates of *dharma* " v.II. His grandson Vāñcheśvara, the Junior, who has written a commentary on the poem, states in his prefatory verses: " The Wise Vāñcheśvara was descended from the family of the ministers of the Bhosla royal lines; he was a Kannada by birth, of pure and virtuous habits, proficient in the *Vedas* and *Vedāṅgas*. He tried to induce the king to make him follow just and proper courses on every occasion. But the youthful king gathered about him a large number of rogues and wicked men and spent all his time in sporting with them. He did not listen to the words of advice of the poet. In order to wean the young prince from their baneful influence and direct his feet in the paths of virtue, the poet composed this *Praise of the Buffalo* and cleared the mind of the ruler." We have no reason to doubt this statement. Satires are intended to sting their victims and rarely rise to an impersonal level or contain a deeper purpose. This is the first time we hear that a satire effected a wholesome reform.

Burns had addressed the Wee Sleekit Timorous Beastie, the Mousie. Kamban is the poet of the she-buffalo. His Kosala is the fertile Tanjore delta and Sarayū is the Cauvery transposed. Vāñcheśvara does not sing the

praises of the female but of the male for its indomitable strength when yoked to the plough. None has paid a more glowing need of praise to agriculture than Vaḷḷuvar in chapter 104 of his *Kural*. If farmers are the linch-pins of the world, according to Vaḷḷuvar, on what do they revolve in turn? Hear our poet "Men start the catalogue of foolish and stupid being with thee the buffalo as No. 1. Verily they are fools and realise not thy greatness. I am not able to put up with this slander of thee. Art not thou the source of all the food grains, and of the sacred *havis* offered unto the Gods themselves? Why expatiate much on thy qualities? Thou lord of buffaloes! Thou are the real support of the world of men, if they but knew" (v. 37).

What befell Dickens in the case of the immortal Pickwick and his companions occured in the case of the Tiruvasalūr poet also. The buffalo looked with its mild placid eyes on the author and lo! a marked change was wrought. The subject grew and fired his imagination. From being a mock-heroic, the butt of ridicule, the really admirable qualities of the animal gained on him, and there after there was no question of satirising the quadraped. At first the poet wanted to compare the locust hordes of tax gatherers to the buffalo, but no; soon he felt that they would be admirable specimens of humanity if they had a tithe of the solid virtues of the buffalo. One notices the change of tone from banter and irony to genuine *eulogium;* the satirist who came to scoff remained to praise. The buffalo had struck some secret fibre in the poet, which clung about his being; he could never more make game of the animal.

The poem is interesting to us in three ways. Firstly, it gives a veracious picture of how bad things can be when kings failed. All the world over, when kings and nobles were the sole patrons of art and literature, the naked truth about the conditions of the masses was not likely to be painted. All the works in Sanskrit and Tamil are couched in fulsome praise of the rulers and the happy conditions of the subjects. For the first time we hear the voice of protest from our poet. Pratāpa Simha, the young king of Tanjore was prevailed to 'farm' his revenues; *ie.* put the right of collecting taxes to auction; the poem describes vividly the disastrous consequences: "The bidders raise their bid for higher quantities of grain or cash, in jealous rivalry. The hollow and impudent *vṛṣalas*—men of low caste and mean character, mostly strangers and foreigners to the soil, hover about the king to snatch employments from him. They bribe the men about the ruler and make them their tools. These rogues extort by force the entire belongings of the subject. Let such hasten unto death." (v. 13)

One touch of nature makes the whole world kin and the opening of the next verse: "Cauryam Nāma Kṛṣī—Valaśya Sahajo Dharmah" stealing is inborn in farmers, in its breadth of sympathy has the touch of Shakespeare and of Burns and endears the poet to us. "Stealing is the inherent *dharma* of farmers. In the *Coḷa* country due to absence of other means

of livelihood, it has been taken up by even the foremost of brahmins. These, the *vṛṣalas*, abuse without pity in unbearable words and others even assault and beat them. Let their foul mouths rot and become the breeding ground for maggots " (v. 14) " When the crops are ripe after long and arduous agricultural operations, the minions descend from nowhere like a swarm of locusts and surround the fields from every side. How can I describe the actions of these calling themselves *Subahvalu Maniam, Harkar* etc., " (v. 15) The iron of some unforgivable personal affront or injury has entered the mind of the poet too deep, and his indignation rises to white heat in the two following verses after which it cools off. " Long have I served thee to they heart's content, thou buffalo king of kings, with offerings of grass and water; bathed and scrubbed thee. I only ask this small favour in return from thee. The Lord of Death uses thee as His vehicle for his rides. Lead him quick towards the *Subedār*, my enemy." (v. 20). " If ever thou feelest the pangs of hunger, Lord of Buffaloes, hear this then. Eat with relish, the *Subedār* whom my contempt has turned into grass and chaff. Consider this well by merely crunching bundle after bundle of unoffending sapless dried hay, how do you help the world? None. On the other hand. If you crunch and munch the *Subedār*, will you not rid the world of an evil and worthless thing? " (v. 21). We hear *ad nauseam* on the platforms and read in the press highly unrealistic pictures of the supposed golden reigns of the kings in the North and in the South. As an offset to them, Vāñcheśvara enumerates in the words of Morley, " without trope....the intolerable burdens under which the people had to groan," and such an account is always worth having in the interests of truth.

In the second place, the *Mahiṣaśataka* is an *Apologia Pro Vita Sua.* Only the direst necessity has driven the sensitive poet, a brahmin genius by birth, unused to any physical work, to resort to agriculture, which the rigid rules of caste had reserved to the third of the four great divisions, the vaiśyas, and forbidden to brahmins. The poet stoutly defends the step he has taken by quoting the *Vedas*, the highest authority in India; he points to the comfortable lives of the agriculturists he sets forth the piteous condition of the foremost men of learning of whom he was one, and the liberty he has won by turning his back on all sorts of patron—kings nobles and richman—and the comparative competence and security he has achieved by this professional sea-change. " Gamble not with dice; adopt husbandry alone for livelihood; get rich and take thy fill of pleasure; and gain the honour and respect of the world "—declares the *Śruti.* Probably thou hast not heard this text of the *Vedas,* brother! Not only is there this positive injunction of the *Vedas,* but the *pratyakṣa pramāṇa*, the testimony of the eye, confirms it. Brother! dost thou not also see the comfortable lives led by the farmers? Yet thy desire to dwell in the *raurava* hell by dancing attendance in the outer corridors of kings abateth not. Alas The pity of it " (v. 4) " By resort to cultivation one never suffers poverty and hunger—is this not a patent fact? In times

of distress or crisis brahmins can turn to cultivation and rearing of cattle—this Manu has permitted. Kings have grown greedy and materialistic now-a days, and times have grown bad by famine. I have turned to agriculture to keep myself alive. What damage have I suffered in this world there by, or how have I lowered myself in men's respect?" (v. 5)

The plight of poets and learned men, sleepless souls who perish in their pride, as set forth by Vāñceśvara, has a poignant pathos which recalls the misgivings of wordsworth.

" We poets in our youth begin in gladness

But thereof come in the end despondency and madness."

Verse 6 runs thus: "When I contemplate on the plight of the revered Śrīdhara and Ambu Dīkṣita, I lose my relish for learning. War is the duty and privilege of the *kṣatriya* caste, but I tremble to fight. Trade the avocation of the *vaiśya* caste, requires capitals, which I have not. Hence abandoning both, I have sought refuge in thee, Thou buffalo! lord Thou art learning, wealth, all and everything to me " (v. 6). " Srīdhara, the wise, hath turned a barterer in learning, teaching according to what he is paid. Good food hath become to Ambu Dīkṣita as rare a dream as gold. Fie on his mastery of the six *darśanas* While I their compeer, *Kuṭṭi Kavi* the far-famed one, idly doze on the door steps of the evil rich. All this misfortune is the direct outcome of not seeking and serving thee, Thou real and only wealthy patron, my lord the Buffaloe!" (v. 7) Two and a half centuries have passed since *Kuṭṭi kavi* crossed what had been the Rubicon to him. The watertight compartments of caste have vanished and all avocations are open to all the castes without question or apology. But Vāñceśvara calls for our admiration for his sturdy courage, not only in changing his hereditary occupation, but in proclaiming it openly from the housetops, in times when he was likely to be put out of caste and socially boycotted.

The next point that remains to be considered is, of the numerous forms of satire, under which the Mahiṣaśataka Comes. A satire is the reverse of the *nindāstuti;* it is the *stutinindā*, a real censure masquerading falsely as praise. In the case of *Kuṭṭi kavi* Pope's sneer is true—he was cradled into satire by wrongs. Satires are rare in prose; they are rarer in poetry. Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita and *Kuṭṭi kavi* are two satirists in Sanskrit. Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣitar's *Kali-Viḍambana* and other works, brilliant as they are, lack the piquancy which the work of *Kuṭṭi kavi* has. " It was worthwhile being a dunce then (when pope wrote his Dunciad) Ah, Sir, hadst thou lived in those days" exclaimed Johnson. One thanks the *Subedār, maddrohin*—my mortal enemy '—as the poet calls him, who abused the poet and probably beat him for furnishing the *causa causens* for this satire; one merely regrets that his name is not mentioned and he is preserved like a fly in amber. Did the poet deliberately withhold the name in order not to confer immortality on him?

There is no doubt but that the poet intended all his one hundred verses to be satirical, but several disturbing second thoughts prevailed and changed the structure of the poem. " Basing my theme on an animal inferior by nature and devoid of excellence, I propose to embark on a centum of verses; but it is not out of the greatness of the animal. By rediculing and condemning the wretch, my enemy, my blow is intended to fall successively in ascending order on his lord, his lord's lord etc., (v. 10). The form the poet intended that the satire should take was by instituing a searching enquiry into what kingship, nobility, and possession of wealth meant; their respective privileges and obligations; that the contemporary king, nobles, and rich men merely claimed the honour and privilege without any thought of the corresponding obligations; that they were full of bad qualities; that the buffalo was not only free from their vices but it really protected those who resorted to it; hence it was a real king and lord in the truest sense of the word; and for the proverbial obtuseness of the buffalo, why, let it look to its laurels; for lo, the king of Tanjore and the members of his *āsthāna* bade fare tổ win and wear them. " Ploughing and ploughing the earth day and night, art thou tired, my buffalo? Get thee straight to the court of the King of Tanjore and take thy ease and dwell with its present-day members. Entertain no vain apprehensions like this: " I am not intelligent or clever." For verily the persons constituting the king's *sabhā* are more foolish than thee; among them you will shine a veritable *Vācaspati*, the Lord of Wisdom himself." Having delivered this dig at the king and his *sabhā*, the poet proceeds to examine the theory of kingship and lordship, which logically pressed, would have landed him in the company of Rousseau and the French Revolutionists. The poet is one with Carlyle in defining a king as one who is willing and able to protect the people. " Does the genus of Kingship inhere and run through kings just as the quality of potness inheres and runs through the entire species of pots? " asks the rebel poet fiercely. " No. He who protects men only is king in his own right. Are the figures we see today kings?." (v. 51) With relief and gratitude the poet averts his eyes from the nominal and unworthy kings to the buffalo which is free from the vices and drawbacks of rulers, and is willing and able to protect men. " My buffalo unlike kings and lords, thou never speakest harsh words: nor utter lies; nor bearest thyself haughtily on the other hand yoked to the plough, with the sole purpose that men might lead lives free from wants and cares, thou subject the body to enormous physical strain. Whilst thou abidest thus after what vain and worthless kings have I not run and been cheated? (v. 28). "Thou never listenest to tale-bearing; nor plotest how to cheat others; thou standest ever the same in all conditions (like a philosopher); fie on kings with fickle and changing mind. I have done with them for ever. By rare luck, thou buffalo Emperor, I have done with them for ever. By rare luck, Thou buffalo Emperor I have come across thee today. Getting thee for a liege lord, I feel glad and content". (v. 29)

This eulogy of the animal, so true, vivid, and original, reaches its climax in a paean, part mock heroic, part sincere in verses 23 to 25. " I have served and tried to please rogues, by my honeyed words all this long while. My efforts have been fruitless. Thereafter I have betaken to the vaiśyas' avocation of agriculture. I laid out a hundred *niṣkas* of coin and obtained a liege in him styled ' The Buffalo Lord.' I have been well protected by him. In sheer gratitude. I raise unto him my song of thanks today." (v. 23) " True it is I have bought thee for just a handful of coins. But how overstraining thy body thou labourest to sustain my family like a veritable bondslave! You have placed me secure above all want and care by producing all the numerous. grains. Therefore, by these thy varied and numerous acts of kindness and of help, thou Buffalo! I am beholden unto thee and have been purchased by thee without shelling even a single coin " (v. 24)

" Thou art bound firm by my *guṇas* (ropes); I am bound firm by thy *guṇas* (qualities). Thou protectest me well, thou chief among buffaloes. Friend, in turn, I shall protect thee well. Thus stand we firm on earth, a gladsome pair, bound by ties of mutual help rendered. Thus even let us stand a hundred autumns! May our enemies perish ! (v. 25)

After this benediction, the poet embarks on a physical description of the animal, its qualities, how he proposes to crown it king etc., in 18 verses (26 to 44) " My mind panteth to praise thee, thou Buffalo king of kings! who art all excellence. Art thou not fit to be immortalised in a book of verse? Daily have I wasted my words in praise of kings puffed up by a little wealth, full of meanness and vices. By these false and empty praises, my words have grown stale and rotten. It is only today, I turn in praise of thee. For give me then, this my transgression " (v. 26). Not only is the hero of the poem, the buffaloe, a fit subject to be sung, but " how to describe thy greatness which riseth above description? But in strict measure of thy excellent qualities, and my abounding faith and trust in thee, strange and wonderful ideas and expressions, struggle and tumble out in jealous and wonderful rivalry crying ' I first, I foremost.' Lord Buffalo. I am hard put to which retain to which to forego " (v. 49). The poet is certainly right; for so unpromising a subject as my Lord the Buffalo, it has inspired Vāñcheśvara with a rush and wealth of novel and interesting ideas. There is a touch of the manly pride of Johnson in his famous letter to Lord Chesterfield in verse 9, and again in verse 50: " Let alone kings whose hearts are puffed up by wealth, and whose eyes are blind and know not what to do and not to do. I approach them not. Come, my buffalo Enter thou the waters of this lake. I will pour its waters on thy head, and anoint thee and crown thee king, for the protection of me and my household. Protect us thou like a true-born king." This portion ends with a *Vedic* benediction; " Many have died prematurely on the face of this earth. Let the remaining count of all their unfulfilled years multipled a thousand fold, we granted unto thee, thou Buffalo king, who art fit and

capable of protecting, not only this, earth, but all the three worlds. Thus ever producing the nine kinds of cereals, may you protect us. May you lead a long life free from ills, bearing without any diminution, this thy plumpness in all thy limbs! " (v. 48)

The poem ought to have ended with verse 52; with that, the afflatus which bore him triumphantly so long deserts the poet. From verse 53 to 100, it is one string of punning in which the buffalo is compared to all sorts of things. To explain the pun, we have to seek the aid of his grandson who has written a commentary on it, and as Johnson says of Milton's Lycidas ' and though it be allowed that the representation may be by pun, the true meaning is so uncertain and remote, that it is never sought, because it cannot be known when found.'

We have stated how the original purpose of the satire is not carried out, and we mentioned that gratitude for the buffalo caused the poet to falter in treating it with the proverbial scorn in which it is held. Another reason made him not ' to lay the stick of satire hard on the back of his offenders ' as the poet puts it; his gratitude to the Bhosla Kings. This going back on his first intent is one of the finest things in literature and raises the author in our estimate " He who hath risen like a full moon from the pure milky sea of the Bhosla family, he who rules the earth warding off all ills, King Pratāpa Simha even, let him enjoy long life, triumph over his foes, be blessed with sons, follow virtue, and ever love his subjects; let him and the unequalled hereditary members of his *sabhā*, be strong in body and free from all ills " (v. 101) Little wonder that tradition ascribes that the king was touched by the forbearance and magnanimity of the poet, who could have flayed him and nailed him to the satirical gallows for ever, but forbore to do so.

One word about the style of the poem. The metre is *Śārdūla vikrīḍita* of which the poet has complete mastery. One wholesome change the poet's turning farmer brought about. He was like Antaeus, brought into close contact with earth and its children. His style gained by greater simplicity, directness and forcefulness which gives the keen edge to his invectives. At times this borders on coarsness and even to vulgarity (vs. 16, 17, 39). But it is the unabashed coarsness of a strong and healthy nature, not the sex obession of some authors, ancient and modern.

Taken all in all, Vāñceśvara's *Mahiṣaśataka* is the foremost satire in India for the originality of its conception, its happy inventions, the gleams of pathos that illumine it, the daring challenges thrown at the conventions of caste and at established kings and lords, its biting sarcasms, its hugging the object of ridicule half-way, and its lofty aim not to whip and lacerate and crucify its victims to the very end, but to warn and reform them, if one may.

Mahiṣa Śataka by Sri Vāñchesvara kavi
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Chandra Bhan Rawat:

TENSE AUXILIARIES IN HINDI

1. *Introductory:*

1.1. This article is absolutely devoted to the structural description and morphological analysis of the auxiliaries used in tense formation in Hindi. The ' processional ' and historical aspects are altogether left out, barring some explanatory historical notes here and there. As far as these aspects are concerned, no new treatment can hope to add any new facts, hitherto overlooked. A new scientific approach, a more systematic arrangement of the facts, methodical description of the morphemes in the structure of these forms and distribution are only possible and all the more needed. The linguist whose main concern is to describe the structure of a language as a whole, should also be able to describe the structure of any single sentence and parts of it. He has to do it in terms of morphemes[1] and the order they follow in the construction. The present attempt is intended to make a clear and unambiguous description of the structural elements and their order. The inflected forms are analysed as a combination of morphemes in a particular order. In the long run such a treatment is bound to be useful and simpler.

1.2. I have followed the definition of an auxiliary, given by Dr. R. N. Vale[2]: " An auxiliary is the second member of a verb compound which, as a finite verb, supplies different stages and aspects (of action) to the main verb, in the non-finite form." This definition comprises the formal as well as the semantic aspect of the verb compounds with auxiliaries. A verb compound is nothing but a fragment of a sentence. As a syntactical unit, there obtains a relation of principal and subordinate between the immediate constituents of the compound. The first of these constituent takes help from the other to complete the sense to be communicated. From the whole array of compositional forms only three have been chosen for the analysis at hand which are used to give a sense of past, present and future.

1.3. Abbreviation and symbols used:Sg=singular; Pl.=plural; 1st= First person; 2nd=second person; 3rd=third person; Masc.=Masculine; Fem.=feminine; inf.=infinitive; Pr=present; Pa=past; F=future; Part= participle; >becomes, leads to; < is derived from; √=root; / /=phonemic writing; { }=morphemic writing; +=juncture. and/θ/=zero. The scheme of transliteration of important signs is as follows: /ʌ/=अ; /a:/=' आ '; /i/=' इ '

1. According to Bloomfield, a morpheme is ' a linguistic form which bears no partial phonetic-semantic resemblance to any other form '; a linguistic form is any combination of phonemes.....which has a meaning.' (Leonard Bloomfield, Language (New York, 1933) 161 and 138)

2. Verbal Composition in Indo-Aryan, (Poona, 1948) P. 254

/i:/'ई'/u/='उ''; /u:/='ऊ'; /e/'ए' /E[3]/'ऐ'; /·/=nasalization. All other letters are simple. Morpheme symbols: N=number morpheme; NG=Number gender morpheme; NP=Number-Person morpheme.

2.0. *Bases:* All the bases in Hindi fall in these patterns[4]: VVC, VCVC, CV, VCV, CVC, CVCVC, VCVC[5]. The bases of the tense auxiliaries are phonemically distinguished from other bases in that they consist only of consonants. These bases are: /h/, /th-/, and /-g-/. Another point of contrast is that other bases are inflected with about seven suffixes while these take one or two suffixes only.[6] /h-/ and /th-/ together form one class and /-g-/ form the other.

2.1. The first class has /h-/[7] as the base morpheme.

Dr. R. N. Vale gives only one form √ho—used as an auxiliary[8] and he seems to say that other forms in /h-/ are merely the alternants. But √ho- is not derived from Skt. √as-. Its origin is from √bhu-.[9] Contrasting distribution of these two proves that /h-/ based auxiliaries are different from √ho- 'be.' √ho-can be combined with Inf. suffix /na-/ to make /hona/ 'to be' (= √ho—+/na/); while the other /h-/ cannot be suffixed like this.

2.11. Base /h-/ class.

/h-/ is used phonemically before /E+/, /u·+/, /o/ and /E·+/ as /hE) 'is,' /hu·/ 'am'; /ho/ 'are' (2nd pl.) and /hE·/ 'are' (1st and 3rd pl./

/th-/[10] is used before /a:+/, /e+/, i:+/, /i·:+/ (where /h-/ cannot occur),

3. There is also a diphthongal pronounciation of /E/ which is had mostly in Eastern dialects of Hindi i-e/ai/. The auxiliary having /E/ as suffix is pronounced as /hE/ In the writer's dialect, it is not pronounced as a diphthong.

4. C—Consonant; V—Vowel.

5. According to these patterns, some of the verb bases in Hindi end in a consonant. But some writers think that these are all vowel ending bases (Pt. Kishoridas Vajpeyee. Hindi Śabdānuśāsan, (Kashi) P. 388) Derived Verbs have been excluded here.

6. For the suffixes see 3.1.

7. Historically, it is derived from Skt. √as-Beames derives these forms from Pkt) अस्मि Skt. अम्हि (Comparative Grammar of the Aryans Languages of India Vol. III, P. 172 Kellog. gives this order of derivation: Skt. अस्मि >Pkt. अहामि >old Braja; अहउँ Braja हउँ >Hindi हूँ Skt. अस्सि V Pkt. अहसि >old. Braja अहहि >Hindi है (Grammar of the Hindi Language P. 347)

8. Verbal composition in Indo-Aryan, P. 105, 106.

9. To the root √भू must be assigned all other forms of the substantive verb with initial h-' (Kellog, op. cit., P. 348) Kishoridas Vajpeyee also recognises a separate source of /h-/ based auxiliaries in Skt. √as and source of √ho-in Skt. √bhu.

10. Historically speaking some are in favour of deriving /th-/ from Skt. √stha- From the Skt. Past part. Sthita, root √stha-has arisen the Hindi Past tense /tha-/ 'was' of the substantive verb." (Kellog, Grammar of the Hindi Language, P. 348) Pt. Kishoridas Vajpeyee does not agree with this view. According to him √h- is combined with /-t/- and gender morpheme /a/,/e/,/i:/ to give forms like/hata:/, 'was' /hate/ 'were' /hati:/ 'was' (Fem.) etc. By metathesis/hata:/>/tha:/,hate/>/the/,/hati/>/thi: (Hindi Śabdānuśāsan, P. 389) The distributional contrast also supports it.

as /tha:/ 'was' (Masc. sg.) /the/ 'were' (Masc. pl.) /thi:/ 'was' (Fem. Sg.) and /thi·:/ 'were' (Fem. Pl.)

2.12. Semantically, /h-/ denotes present and /th-/ denotes past tense.

2.2. Second base /-g-/[11] has no alternants. Sementically it denotes future.

2.3. These two classes are in contrasting circumstances, as is clear from the following table—

	Morpheme.	*Circumstances.*
I.	{h-} (=/h-/, /th-/)	+——/u·/E/,/o/,/E·/or/*a*/,/e/,/i:/,/i:/
II.	{-g-}	√+Suffixes——[12]/*a*/e/,/i:/

The examples of (I) have been given above and of (II) are */ga/,/ge/,/gi:/*, all meaning 'will' (Masc. Sg., Masc. Pl., and Fem. respectively).[13]

3.0. Inflectional Suffixes: There are seven classes of suffixes with which the Hindi verbal bases may be inflected. These are: imperative,[14] infinitive, number, number-gender, number-person, causative and participle suffixes.[15] Suffixes are */u·/,/o/*=NP, (used for making 1st. Sg. and 2nd Pl. imperatives also) */θ/*- used for 2nd Sg. imperative, */e/*=3rd Sg. imperative; /E·/=1st and 3rd Pl.; */na/*[16]-infin.; /E/=Sg; /·/[17]=Pl.; */a:/*=Masc. Sg.; */e/* masc. Pl.; */i/*Fem.[18], */t-*/Pr. Part/-a:/=causative. These suffixes also occur in combination with other suffixes such as, Part. suffix */-t-/*+NG; imp. suffix +N or NP. These tense auxiliaries cannot be inflected with all the suffixes as other bases do. They take only one or two of them, as is clear from the following table:

The base	Imp. (1)	Inf. (2)	Part. (3)	N (4)	NG (5)	NP (6)	caus. (7)
A. /h-/	×	×	×	√	×	√	×
B. /th-/	×	×	×	×	√	×	×
C. /-g-/	×	×	×[19]	×	√	×	×

11. In some dialects two more terminations are used to denote future: /-h-/ and/-s-/ as in/calasy:u·/ 'I will walk'/calihau·/ 'I will walk'. These two are found in Rajasthan and Braja respectively. In eastern dialects the future forms in /b/ are also in use.

12. These suffixes are imparative but are used here as stem forming ones.

13. Etymologically —g— is from the past part of the Skt. √gam-'to go'; gatah-Pkt.. gao. Kellog remarks: ' In illustration of this use of a verb of motion to form a future compare with the /-g-/ future the Eng. idiom 'I am going to say' which is merely equivalent to the future, 'I shall say.' (Grammar of the Hindi Language, P. 346).

13. A verbal base is used uninflected as an imperative in 2nd Sg. as /ja:/ 'go' from √/ja:—

14. This suffix has two forms, present and past. Details are not necessary here.

15. The nasalization is added to Sg. /E/ to make it plural suffix.

16. Its oblique form is also in /n/ but ends in/e/,/ne/

17. These are also used to form past tense. Its phonetic alternant is /y/ as in [diya:] 'gave.' The bases which end in consonants take /a/ only.

18. Only past part. suffixes can be added to this base, as in /gaya:/ ' went ' (Masc Sg.) etc.

19. Another form of this is also in use: /a:ne vala:h E/ 'he is about to come.' It may be called desiderative.

3.1. Thus Hindi tense auxiliaries are √+N or √+NG or √+NP. This table does not show the contrast between B and C, so far as the suffixes are concerned. The contrast is that C must be preceded by √+{Imp.} while B is always preceded by /th-/ A and B can occur as main verb also while C cannot. For this we have to look for the preceding factors.

3.2. Preceding Factors: In order to fix the occurence of these tense auxiliaries, we will have to take into consideration the first member of the verb compounds. The form of the first member conditions the occurance of a particular auxiliary and decides the function of the compound. The first member of the compound must be inflected with one class of the suffixes or the other. These inflected forms are sometimes separated from the second member by /+/ and sometimes there is no juncture between the two. This factor distinguishes the classes of auxiliary basis:

1st member of the compound.	Class of auxiliary
√+Suffix+/+/————————'A'	(/h-/and/th-/)
√+Suffix————————'B'	(/-g-/)

Thus on the basis of juncture these classes may be divided clearly.

3.3. *Order of Morphemes*—It is relevant to describe the order of morphemes in both the members of verb compounds with tense auxiliaries.

3.31. Order of Morphemes in the First Member of the Compound: The suffixes added with this are:/na/infin. (Direct), /ne-/infin. (oblique), (/ne/+/mE·)'; /t-/=Pr. Part.; and /-*a*:/,/-*e*/,/i:/=NG, (used as Past Part. suffixes also.) Pr. Part. /-t-/ is also followed by NG., and imp. suffixes /u·/,/o/,/E·/,/*e*/ and /θ/. First two of these are NP and the rest N. Examples.

√dekh—+ /*na*-/		/dekhana:/	'to see'
	/*ne*/=/dekhane/	'(oblique) 'to see'	
/-t-/+ /*a*:/	=/dekhta:/	'seeing'	(Masc. Sg) Pr.
/*e*/	=/dekhte/	,,	(Masc. Pl.) Pr.
/*i*/	=/dekhti:/	,,	(Fem. Sg.) Pr.
/i·/	=/dekhti·:/	,,	(Fem. Pl.) Pr.
/*a*:/	=/dekha:/	'saw'	(Masc. Sg.) Pr.
/*e*/	=/dekhe/	'saw'	(Masc. Pl.) Pa.
/*i*:/	=/dekhi:/	'saw'	(Fem. Sg.) Pa.
/i·:/	=/dekhi·:/	'saw'	(Fem. Pl.) Pa.
/*u*·:/	=/dekhu·:/	'let me see' (1st. Sg.)	
/*e*/	=/dekhe/	'(he) may see' (3rd, Sg.)	
/E·/	=/dekhE·/	'let us/them see.'	
/*o*/	=/dekho/	'You, see' (2nd, Pl.)	

Class 'B' of auxiliary bases, consisting of /-g-/ can only come after the last four suffixes of the main verb. The rest of these can go with class 'A'

3.32. Order of Morphemes in Auxiliaries :/h-/ can be inflected with NP, as in /*hu*·/ 'am' (1st Sg) and /*ho*/ 'are' (2nd Pl.) as well as with N, as in

/hE/ 'is' /*h*E·/ (/*h*/—+/—E/+/·/) 'are.' /*th*-/ can only take NG as in /tha:/ 'was' (masc. Sg), /the/ 'were' (Masc. Pl.), /thi:/ 'was (Fem. Sg.) and /thi·:/ 'were' (Fem. Pl.). The base /-*g*-/, as an auxiliary also takes NG as in /Karu:ga:/ '(I) will do.'

4.0. *Functional Meaning:* The functional meaning of the verb compound depends on the nature of the suffix with which the first member of the compound is inflected and the class of auxiliary used as the second member of the compound. Thus the structural order of morphemes in the compound is important.

4.1. The first member with infinitive suffix: The infinitive suffix may be direct or oblique.

4.11. √+Inf./-*n*-/+direct/-*a:* /+/+/*h*E/'is'(=/*h*-/+/E/)=Compulsive+ Sense of future. Example is: √*ja:*—+/-*n*-/+/-*a:*/+/*h*E/=/*Ja:na: hE*/ '(I) have to go.' Thus the meaning of the whole compound becomes compulsive future. This order with auxiliary in /*th*-/ makes the meaning past compulsive.

4.12. √+Inf. /-*n*-/+oblique /-*e*/+/*m*E·/ 'in' + /*h*E/=Sytnactive, with the sense of very near future. The example may be: √*ja:*+/-*n*-/+/-*e*/+ /*m*E·/+/E/=/*ja: ne m*E·—*h*E/[20] '(he) is about to go.'[21]

The past syntactive is not generally possible.

4.2. The First Member with the Participle Suffix: Participle suffixes may be past and present.

4.21. √+Pa. Part. /-*a:*/-/*e*/or/-*i*:+/*h*E/or/*h*E·/=Completive, with the sense of immediate past. The action has been just finished. The Example is: √dekh—+/*a:*/+/*h*E/. '(I) have seen.'

This formation is also possible with /*th*-/ base to make it past completive as /dekha: tha:/ '(I) had seen' This /th-/ base shows the remote past.

4.22. √+Pr. Part. /-*t*-/+/*a:*/, /*e*/,or/*i*:/+/*h*E/or/*h*E·/. = continuative with the sense of present. Example : √ja:- +/-t-/+/*a:*+//*h*E/= /*ja:ta:h*E/ 'he goes.' Auxiliary may come with any suffix mentioned above.

To make it past continuative, the auxiliary in/*th*-/ is used as in /*a: ta: tha:*/ 'I was coming.'

4.23. √+Imp. +/-*g*-/+NG=Future, as in /*ja:ū:ga:*/ 'I will go.'

5. Summery.

5.1. Bases: /C/ Pattern. /*h*-/,/*th*/ and /-*g*-/

5.2. Suffixes used:

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20. It is in the desiderative sense.

{*h*-} +-/E/-/*o*/-/E·/(/E·/={/E/}+{·})=√+NP and N
/*th*-/+/*a:*/,/*e*/,/*i:*/,/i:/ (/i·/={/*i*/}+/{/·/})=NG

{*-g*-}+/*-a:*/,/*e*/,/*i*/———NG.

5.3. *Occurence.*

{*h*-} in +————————NP or N.

{th—}in+————————————NG

{*-g*-} in √+Imp.————————NG.

5.4. *Functional meaning*

√+Inf. + {*h*-}=future compulsive.

√+Inf. ob. + {*h*-}=Syntactive and desiderative.

√+Pa. Part. + {*h*-}=Completives.

√+Pr. Part + {*h*-}=Continuatives.

√+Imp. + {*-g*-}=future.

Manuscript Notices:

1. Sanskrit Manuscripts on Elephants

The Sanskrit manuscripts on *Gaja-śāstra* available in the Oriental Institute Manuscripts Library of Sri Venkateswara University are interesting and fall into three main groups: (1) *Hastyāurveda* (Text only) attributed to Pālakāpya. (2) *Gaja-śāstra* with commentary—Text by Pālakāpya Muni and commentary by Ananta Krishna Bhattaraka (3) *Gaja-śikṣā* or (training of elephants) attributed to Nārada; and (4) *Gaja-grahaṇa* (method of capturing and treatment of elephant) by Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita.

In this nuclear age, the elephants, horses etc. have been eclipsed and the importance that used to be attached to the breeding and training of elephants has naturally decreased. The works on elephants illustrate how ancient is our knowledge of elephant and how from time immemorial they have been systematised and reduced to practical rules to be applied in harnessing them for the use of kings and in warfare. In Sanskrit there is rather an extensive literature[1] on elephants, the method of catching them, their breeding and treatment. The earliest among the extant works is decidedly the *Hastyāyurveda*, which is written in the style of *Purāṇas* being an interlocation between Romapāda, the king of Ārya and the sage Pālakāpya. This latter belonged to the *Kāsyapa-gotra* and because he tended (pālayati) the elephants, he got the name Pālakapya and others that came after him praise the elephants as the best mounts for the kings and the best fighters in the army. Some of the *ślokas* are worth quoting and translating.

मोक्षात् परा गतिर्नास्ति नास्ति वेदात् परा श्रुतिः ।
नास्ति कृष्णात् परं भूतं नास्ति यानं गजात् परम् ॥

There is no further advent after emancipation, no authority beyond the *Vedas*, no man better than Kṛṣṇa and no mount as excellent as the elephants.

पृथिव्या भूषणं मेरुः शर्वर्या भूषणं शशी ।
नराणां भूषणं विद्या सैन्यानां भूषणं गजाः ॥

The *Sumeru* is the ornament of the world, the moon of the night, the learning is the ornament of the man, and the elephant of the army.

यतस्सत्यं ततो धर्मः यतो धर्मस्ततो धनम् ।
यतो रूपं ततश्शीलं यतो नागास्ततो जयः ॥

Where there is truth there is religion; where there is religion there is prosperity; where there is beauty there is nobility; where there are elephants there is victory.

The general feature of all these works is that they are scientific in character. On the origin of elephants and on their transformation from winged to wingless elephants, all the manuscripts have the same tale

to tell. There are those who pout their lips at what they consider fantastic in some of our ancient writings. It is difficult to convince them except by references to western literature or science; for instance, it may be thought that winged elephants spoken of in the *Gaja-śāstra* are merely mythological and ought to have no place in any scientific account of elephants. But it is interesting to know from scientists themselves that biologically many big animals had wings in the beginning and came to shed of them in course of time as the price of their evolution.

Besides, the following general items of interest are also noticeable. The age of elephant is given as 120 years, which is divided into twelve periods of ten years each, each period being called a *daśa*. The condition in each *daśa* is described in detail. Elephants again are classified according to their place of origin from each of the old divisions of India, Kāmbhoja, Kāśmīra, Pulinda, Nepāla, Kekaya, Ārya, etc. They are again subdivided into two kinds according as they are either *giricara* (accumstomed to mountains) or *nadī-cara* (accustomed to rivers) *Gaja-śāstra* p. 53—55. Elephants bread up in different forests are subdivided into three different classes as *Bhadra*, *Mandra*, and *Mṛga*. Amongst them, the best are those belonging to the *Bhadra* variety. They are always submissive to their masters and mahouts. They can be easily trained as they are very intelligent. They have good marks, are very clever and patient at work and would increase the prosperity of their masters. Their walk is very grand and rapid when they lose temper. The *Mahārājas* always desire to go upon this kind of elephants during their coronation as they are prosperous and wealthy (*Gaja-śāstra*. folio 150–152). Further, the victory of kings (in battles) depends mainly upon elephants, for elephants being of large bodily frame, are able not only to destroy the arrayed army of the enemy, his fortifications and encampmets but also to undertake works that are dangerous to life (*Gaja-śikṣā*, p. 52). In *Gaja-śikṣā* are found also measurements of elephant stables, of places suitable for their bathing, playing and training. (*Gaja-śikṣā* p. 102—104). Five modes of capturing elephants are described in the *Gaja-śāstra* as well as in *Gaja-śikṣā*. *Vāri-bandha*, *varabandha* and *anugatabandha* are the three modes of capture which are approved, whilst *āpātabandha* in both its varieties is condemned. (*Gaja-śāstra* folio 141–147; *Gaja-śikṣā*, p. 74–85). The smell of elephants their cries, their stature, auspicious characteristics and their physical splendour are also described. The instructor or trainer should possess activity and firmness, the greatest possible coolness, good temper and patience; he must gain the confidence of his elephant; and unless he does this, his work is one of brute force and opposed to all the instincts of an intelligent animal. Elephants are by degrees made obedient, through the hope of recompense as well as from fear of punishment; mere force and want of skill and judgment tend to confirm vice and restiveness; punishment, therefore, should never be inflicted on a young elephant except for decided restiveness and downright vice. (*Gaja-śikṣā* pp. 53–54).

The elephant in ancient India is always regarded as specially sacred in all three religious systems of India, Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism. Gaṇeśa, for instance with the head of an elephant, is regarded as the bestower of perfection. Airāvata, the white elephant. has been accepted as a mount by Indra. and his birth at the time of the churning of the ocean (*samudramanṭhanam*) is regarded as specially sacred. The Hindus believe also that the *Diggajas* guard the ten quarters. Elephants in ancient India were regarded so sacred that Kauṭilya prescribes death sentence for any one who kills an elephant. But on the other hand, if a man is killed by an elephant, his relatives are to pay a sum to government for his obtaining such an auspicious death. In Buddhism we find Buddha himself represented as a white elephant at Dauli near Bhuvanesvar. It is also recorded that Māyā Devī saw in her dreams a white elephant entering into her womb. Eventually she became *enciente* and produced a son, who became known as the Buddha in later times. In the *Jātaka* literature, recording stories of the Buddha's previous births we find the Buddha born several times as an elephant. In later times, we find a pair of elephants as vehicles of Akṣobhya, a Dhyani Buddha Similarly, in Jainism, elephant was regarded as specially sacred to Ajitanātha, a Tīrthaṅkara as his *lāñchana* or the recognition symbol. The object of this short notice on *Gaja-śāstra* is to interest scholars and learned institutions in and outside India in the preservation and maintenance of some of rare works and rich treasures still available in Manuscript Libraries and to bring them to light.

GAJA-SIKSA No. 6709 A

Size $8\frac{1}{2}$" by $6\frac{3}{4}$". 152 pages; 20 lines to a page; 18—20 letters to a line. Modern paper; *grantha* characters; writing very hasty and not very legible; There are altogether some 64 topics and the topic-headings are written in black ink within brackets. Text is followed by a commentary on group of verses. Text and commentary are distinguished by the words मूलं and व्यक्तिटिप्पणी. The verses are not numbered. The work is a treatise describing, the characteristics, aspects, breeding and training of the elephants. It consists of nine *paṭalas* and the contents of the work as given in the first page are as follows:

गजशिक्षायाः पटलविषयसूचिका

प्रथमः	पटलः	गजसृष्टिक्रमकथनात्मकः
द्वितीयः	,,	गजजात्यङ्गनिरूपणात्मकः
तृतीयः	,,	गजप्रयोजनकथनात्मकः
चतुर्थः	,,	गजबन्धनस्थाननिर्देशकथनात्मकः
पञ्चमः	,,	गजबन्धनरचनाक्रमकथनात्मकः
षष्ठः	,,	गजानयनप्रकारकथनात्मकः

सप्तम: ,, गजशालालक्षणकथनात्मक:
अष्टम: ,, गजवय:कार्यक्रमकथनात्मक:
नवम: ,, गजशिक्षाक्रमनिरूपणात्मक:

Age—appears to be modern
Author of the Text—Nārada
Author of the commentary—Umāpatyācārya.
Begins—Folio 1*a*

अथ नारदमुनिप्रणीता गजशिक्षा प्रारभ्यते । प्रथम: पटल: । तत्रादौ शास्त्रावतरणक्रम: —

देवल उवाच —

त्रिलोकीसञ्चारशीलो नारदो भगवान् ऋषि: ।
पुरा सुधर्मां सम्प्राप्तो महेन्द्रादिभिरर्चित: ।
कथाश्रवणवेलायां शचीपतिरिन्दम: ।
प्राञ्जलि: प्रणतो भूत्वा व्यजिज्ञपदिदं वच: ।

वासव उवाच: —

भगवन् नारदमुने सर्वशास्त्रविशारद ।
पुण्यानां परिपाकेन तव दर्शनमत्र हि ।
निधिस्त्वमेव शास्त्राणां गूढार्थानामनेकश: ।
गजशिक्षाक्रमं ज्ञातुं त्वन्मुखाद्विधिनन्दन ।
कथं पूर्वं गजास्सृष्टा: के ते तद्वंशजाश्च के ।
युगभेदेन तेषां तु वंशवृद्धिरभूत्कथम् ।
तेषां गुणा: कथं ज्ञेया: कथं ग्राह्याश्च ते वने ।
कथं रक्ष्या: कथं शिक्ष्या: कीदृशं तद्बलादिकम् ।
स्वरूपगुणशीलाढ्या: कीदृशा: करिणां मुने ।
एतत्सर्वं तदन्यच्च गूढार्थं च विशेषत: ।
परया कृपयाऽस्माकं वक्तुमर्हसि सुव्रत ।

Begins Commentary: Folio 2.

अथ उमापत्याचार्यविरचिता व्यक्तिनामकटिप्पणीप्रारभ्यते । तत्रायं व्याख्यातु: मङ्गलश्लोकक्रम: ।

यस्य पादाम्बुजध्यानवन्दनाद्यैरहर्निशम् ।
जायन्ते सम्पदस्सर्वास्तं गजाननमाद्रिये ॥

व्यक्तिटिप्पणी

इह खलु भगवान्नारदः पङ्कजासनतनूभवः त्रिलोकसञ्चारी वीणावादनतत्परस्सन् पुरा कदाचिद्देवसभां सुधर्मामाससाद । तत्र वासवजयन्तगुरुसुरोत्तमप्रमुखैस्समर्चितस्सन् स्वसञ्चारसम्पादिता विविधाः कथा मनोहारिणीरवर्षयत् । तादृशकथाप्रसङ्गवेलायां इन्द्रेण प्रार्थितस्सन् गजशिक्षाक्रममिमं सर्वलोकहितायाचचक्षे । ललितपदार्थसन्दर्भगुम्भितमिति शास्त्रावतारक्रमः । अपि च कृतत्रेतादिषु पुण्ययुगेषु देवगुरुः बृहस्पतिः, व्यासः, गौतमः, मृगचर्मनामको मुनिवरः, रैभ्यमुनिः, नारदमुनिः, भृगुमुनिः, कोलाहलो मुनिः, वालखिल्यमुनिः, पालकाप्यमुनिः, गजनादमुनिः, अग्निवेश्यमुनिरन्ये च केचिन्मुनिपुङ्गवाश्च बहुप्रकाराणि गजशास्त्राणि नानासन्दर्भचरितार्थगुम्भितानि सर्वलोकक्षेमाय रचयित्वा सच्छिष्योपदेशद्वारा विविधानि मङ्गलान्या.... रिति नानाविधगजशास्त्रप्रणेतॄणां मुनीश्वराणां नामसंकीर्तनादिकं तावदत्र टिप्पण्यारम्भसमये सर्वमङ्गलाकटाक्षवीचिप्रचरणकरमिति विवेकः ।

Ends—page 151.

अथ मृगयाशिक्षाक्रमश्चतुर्थः

हस्तिपैर्मृगयाशिक्षा संयोज्या तूत्तमे गजे ।
षष्ठे वर्षे तु सम्प्राप्ते गजधैर्यबलप्रदे ।
यूथपैस्सह संयोज्याः वनसञ्चारकर्मणि ।
कुञ्जस्थानं गुहास्थानं रहस्थानं वनान्तरे ।
आधोरणैरायुधैश्च ते रक्ष्या मृगयास्थले ।
ते त्वसाध्याः स्वभावेन कुपितास्ताडनादिषु ।
तेषां भीतिनिरासश्च यशसे वनभूमिषु ।
शिक्षा प्रयोज्या तेषां तु यथा प्रीतिः पदे पदे ॥

There is no colophon and the Manuscript abruptly ends here. There is no comentary on these verses. So far as our knowledge goes this work is not mentioned in any other descriptive catalogue.

GAJAGRAHANAM Acc. No. 6709—B

Size 8½ by 6½; 63 leaves; 14 lines to a page; 16 letters to a line. 884 verses.

Modern paper with water lines; *grantha* characters; handwriting uniform and legible. Marginal notes are given on some folios; corrections are made with black ink here and there. Each verse is numerically numbered and black ink is used for marking the verse numbers. The manuscript contains five *āśvāsas*. It is an interesting work

describing in detail some ten methods of capturing elephants, their breeding, training and treatment and fixes their daily rations.

Age—appears to be modern. Author: Nārāyana Dīkṣita.

Begins—Folio 1 a

श्री गणेशाय नमः

गजग्रहणप्रकारः नारायणदीक्षितविरचितः ।

(मूलमात्रं – प्रतिश्लोकावतारिकागुम्भितश्च)

प्रथमाश्वासः

(१)

मङ्गलदा नृपतीनामपि निजसञ्चारवैभवादनिशम् ।
करिणो जयन्ति बहुधा शुभलक्षणमण्डिता जगति ॥

(२)

प्रातर्दर्शनभूम्ना पुण्यसमृद्धिर्हि जायते पुंसाम् ।
सायं निरीक्षणाद्यै रैश्वर्यं बहुविधं भवति ॥

(३)

सन्तुष्टाश्शुभवदनाः विलसगमनास्तु कुञ्जरा यत्र ।
विलसन्ति तत्र देशे सा लक्ष्मीर्नित्यवासा हि ॥

Ends Folio 63 b

(८८२)

सन्तोषभरितहृदयः करिणो यत्र स्थले हि निवसन्ति ।
तत्रैव सर्वलक्ष्मीलीलादिकमादराद् द्रष्टव्यम् ॥

(८८३)

एवं नानासद्गुणजलधीनां वैभवं करिणाम् ।
अयुतैकभागमेव प्रकाशितं सर्वकार्यसिद्ध्यर्थम् ॥

Colophon

इति गजसंग्रहणकलाप्रकार एष क्षमातले जीयात् ।
नारायणेन दीक्षितवरेण रचित स्सुरेशमोदाय ॥
इति नारायणदीक्षितविरचिते गजग्रहणप्रकारे
पञ्चमाश्वासः ॥

References; Aufrecht does not mention this work in his *Catalogous Catalogorum*; nor it is mentioned in any other descriptive catalogue.

N. SUBRAMANYA SASTRY.

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2. KĀLAHASTHI STHALA MĀHĀTMYAMU

There are two palm-leaf manuscripts of the work *Kāḷahasti-sthala-māhātmyamu* in the Sri Venkateswara University Oriental Research Institute Library. Both of them are incomplete. The first of them bearing the number 7330 contains seven cantos completely. A few leaves are missing at the end of the eighth canto and the beginning of the nineth canto is found towards the end. The second, bearing the number 7425, contains the first canto only. In the introduction to the *Kāḷahasti-māhātmyamu* of Dhūrjaṭi published in the *Gñānaprasūna-mālikā* series in the year 1914 a mention is made about the present work and there it is stated that it contains 12 cantos. We are not in a position to identify the manuscript which was said to have been seen by Sri K. Padmanabha Sastri and R. Venkatasubbaiah, the authors of that introduction. Hence, although incomplete, these manuscripts are of some importance.

Author:

The author of this work is Dhūrjaṭi Liṅgarāja Kavi. He hails from the noble family of Dhūrjaṭi, the well known poet who wrote *Kāḷahasti-māhātmyamu*. He was the son of Dhūrjaṭi Venkatārya who was known as Kumāra Dhūrjaṭi and who wrote the *Kṛṣnarāya-vijayamu*. Though the existence of the present work is known to the public for a long time it is strange that no historian wrote about this poet. The life of Dhūrjaṭi Veṅkaṭārāya Kavi who wrote *Ratnāvalī-pariṇayamu* is found in the *Lives of Telugu Poets* of K. Veeresalingam. Veṅkaṭarāya Kavi is the son of Lingarāja kavi, the author of the *Kāḷahasti-sthala-māhātmyamu*. In his *Ratnāvalī-pariṇayamu*, a work of four cantos dedicated to Cekūri Rāmaswāmi Mantri, Veṅkaṭarāya Kavi writes about his father as follows:

మ. ఘనగౌరీశకటాక్షలబ్ధకవితాగాంభీర్యసంతుష్టభూ
జనరాడ్దత్తసువర్ణచేలమణిభూషాగ్రామపల్యంకికా
ఘనదంతావళహేటకాదిబహుసత్కారప్రతిష్ఠాత్ము మ
జ్జనకున్ దూర్జటి లింగరాజకవిరాజశ్రేష్ఠు గీర్తించెదన్.

His patron, Dāmerla Veṅkaṭapati Nāyaka, having been pleased with the excellence of his poetry presented him with a golden garment, rich jewellery, villages, pallanquin, a great elephant, a fine horse, etc. The fact that he was richly honoured by his patron is also mentioned in the colophon of the present work at the end of each canto:

"ఇది శ్రీ జ్ఞానప్రసూనాంబికా కాళహస్తీశ్వర కరుణాకటాక్షవీక్షణాసాదిత సారసాహితీ ధౌరేయ సుకవిజనవిధేయ శ్రీమద్దామర్లవంశ పయఃపారావారసుధాకర కుమారాక్కభూవర

కుమారవెంకటమహీమండలాఖండలదత్తానేకమణిమయానంత చతురంతయానాగ్రహారాద్యశేష పాలితోషికవిశేషవిభవధురంధర వినయగుణబంధుర కుమారహూర్జటి ప్రఖ్యాతబిరుదనామాంక వెంకటామాత్యతనయ నయవిరాజ ధూర్జటిలింగరాజకవిప్రణీతం బైనకాళహస్తిస్థలమాహాత్మ్యం బనుమహాప్రబంధంబునందు ...."

Liṅgarāja Kavi is said to have written several works like *Varalakshmi-vrata-caritra*, *Kāverī-māhātmyamu*, *Maṇimaṇṭapa-prabhāvamu*, and many satakas on Lord Siva in his boyhood. This information is given in the following verse addressed by the patron to the poet.

సీ. రచియించితివి కవిప్రతతి సన్నుతి సేయఁ
జతురోక్తి వరరమావ్రతచరిత్ర
పలికితి పాండ్యభూపాలసభ్యులు మెచ్చ
నదలంకృతిఁ గవేరజామహత్త్వ
మాచరించితి కుమారేచభూపాగ్రణి
ప్రణుతింప మణిమంటపప్రభావ
మొనరించితివి భక్తియుక్తి శంకరునకు
శతకముల్ మాధుర్యచతురఫణితి

గీ. బాల్యమునసె సుధీంద్రులు ప్రస్తుతింపఁ
గృతుల ఘటియించి విపులసత్కృతులు గాంచి
వెలసితివి కీర్తి దిక్కులి విస్తరిల్లఁ
బ్రబలమిత్రాబ్జరవి లింగరాజసుకవి.

The *Kālahasti-sthala-māhātmyamu* is dedicated to Dāmerla Veṅkaṭapati Nāyaka, son of Dāmerla Akka Bhūpāla. Dāmerla Veṅkaṭapati Nāyaka flourished in the beginning of the eighteenth century and we can fix the date of the poet in about 1730 A.D.

Source of the poem

Though there is similarity in the title of the work this is a different work from the famous *Kālāhasti-māhātmyamu* of Dhūrjaṭi. The stories that are found in the present work are not the same in the Dhūrjaṭi's poem. We do not find *Natkīruni-caritra* in this work. The source of this poem is said to be the *sivarahasya-saṅgraha* in Sanskrit. In the latter part of the above *Itihāsa*, *Kālahasti-māhātmyamu* is described in 120 chapters. That portion of the Sanskrit work formed the basis for this poem. Velugoṭi Muddu-Kṛṣṇa Yācendra Bahaddar, Raja of Venkatagiri has published a Sanskrit work *Kālahasti-māhātmyamu* in the year 1893 and the stories that are found in that work are similar to those in the present poem.

Importance

This poem throws some new light on a few aspects of literature. It is revealed to the scholars that the *Ṣaḍadhyāyī* was the source of the *Kāḷahasti-māhātmyamu* of Dhūrjaṭi only through this poem. The following verse is the basis for that conclusion:

క. వినుఁ కాళహ స్తిమహిమం
బనుపమ మై పెలయ మును షడధ్యాయికథన్
తెనుఁగునఁ గావ్యముగ నొన
ర్చెను పెద ధూర్జటికవీంద్రశేఖరుఁ డనఘా ।

In the *avatārikā* or the introduction to the poem a mention is made about a poet Pedda Tūrkana Kavi in the *Pūrvakavi-stuti*. Nothing is known about this poet except the name that is found in the following verse:

క. జాగ్రద్ధూర్జటిచటులజ
టాగ్రనటద్ధ్యోధునీస్వనాంచద్దుర్గా
నుగ్రహకవిత్వవిభవన
మగ్రుని బెదతూర్క్-నార్య మతి నుతియింతున్.

It is not known who this poet was, when he flourished and what his works were. In the introduction to the *Śṛṅgāra-naiṣadha* of Mahākavi Srīnātha one by name Peda Tūrkana Mantri is mentioned. We do not know whether he is the same person who is praised by Lingarāja kavi in his poem. According to the poet Peda-Tūrkana seems to be a great poet in Telugu whose poetry, got by the grace of Goddess Durgā, sounds as the *ākāśa-gaṅgā* that adorns the forehead of Lord Siva.

The geneology of Dāmerla Veṅkaṭapati Nāyaka, the patron of the poet, which is found in the *avatārikā* or the introduction to the poem is historically very valuable. Dāmerla Veṅgaḷa Bhūpāla describes the geneology of the Dāmerla family in his *Bahulāśva-caritramu*. Another geneology *Dāmeravāri Vaṁśāvali* is found in the Ist volume of the second part of the *Cāupaṭdya-maṇimañjāri* published by Sri Veturi Prabhakara Sastri. The present work also gives the geneology of the Dāmerla family in detail. This will help to write the history of the southern part of the Āndhra Deśa in the 17th and 18th centuries to some extent in collaboration with the material available in the *Velugotivāri Vaṁśāvali* which has been published by the Madras University under the able editorship of Dr. N. Venkataramanaiah.

T. KODANDARAMAIAH.

REVIEWS

THE MEGHADUTA OF KALIDASA; Critically edited by Sushil Kumar De, with a general introduction by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan; Published on behalf of the Sahitya Akademi by the Director, The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. Delhi-8. Rs. 2–50.

The Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi deserves congratulations for selecting such a competent scholar as Sri Sushil Kumar De for bringing out this new critical edition of the text of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*. The learned introduction, the reconstructed text, the foot notes, the select bibliography, the *pāda* index of stanzas and geographical notes on the places mentioned in the *Meghadūta*, bear ample evidence to the great pains the editor has taken in preparing the edition. Sri S. K. De has consulted and utilised not only the editions of the texts and commentaries published here and abroad, but also manuscripts of the text and commentaries from all over India. He has made use of the adaptations of Jinasena and Vīrasena, a Tibetan translation and a Sinhalese paraphrase of the *Meghadūta*. The principle he has adopted for determining the stanzas as genuine or spurious, and for discriminating the right reading from the wrong one is sound and convincing, although in a few places some may think that there is room for further consideration. A great majority of books may contain the reading in 3 a केतकाधानहेतो: । We have to attach some weight, however, to the editor's remark,

"केतकाधानहेतोरिति पाठे ... इदमत्यन्तश्लाघ्यविशेषणं न स्यात् ।"

तस्य स्थित्वा कथमपि पुर: ... will have full significance only if कौतुकाधानहेतो: is the reading. Since Sri S. K. De has given all the variants in the notes, scholars may take interest in finding whether there are cases where the readings given in the text may be replaced by those given in the notes.

Though the poem is uniformly called as *Meghadūta* in the North, it is worth while to consider its title prevalent in the South as *Meghasaṁdeśa* which seems to be more appropriate, as Kālidāsa uses in the poem the word सन्देश many times in 5, 7 and 85. Śrī Veṅkaṭanātha's work written in the model of this work of Kālidāsa, is well known as *Hamsasandeśa* and this name is mentioned by Veṅkaṭanātha himself. We are used to divide the *Meghadūta* into two cantos calling them पूर्वमेघ and उत्तरमेघ. But in this edition such a division is done away with. The errata may include वक्ष्यति in 17 b.

The general introduction by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan covers the whole field or Kālidāsa's poetry. It deals with the poet's date, works, life, *dharma*, love of nature and love of marriage.

It may be safely said that he, who wants to study the *Meghadūta* critically, may not find a better edition than this at present.

D. T. TATACHARYA

VEDANTHA KESARI; Volume L No. 4 August 1963. Swami Vivekananda Birth Centenary Number. Sri Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras—4. pp. 121—328.

This issue of the *Vedānta Kesari* opens with the very well-worded appreciation of Swami Vivekananda's work by Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa and the Holy Mother. This is followed by the personal sketches drawn by the Swami's brother disciples revealing the speeches of the Swami and the sincere admiration which the co-workers had for him. Next to this is the recording of the Swami's services to the nation in the form of homage paid by Mahatma Gandhi, Sri Aurobindo, Rabindranath Tagore, Subhash Chandra Bose, Rajendra Prasad and Romain Rolland.

Then follow forty-three articles on the Swami and his teachings by learned men who include the present scholar-President of the Indian Union and Sri Jawaharlal Nehru. Among these articles, there are three poems one in Sanskrit and two in English. The Sanskrit poem, in twelve stanzas by Dr. V. Raghavan, contains the English version also of it by himself. The two English poems by Dilip Kumar Roy pay glowing tributes to Ramakrishna and Vivekananda.

Each of the remaining articles serves a distinct purpose and so it is not possible to single out any of them. Passing references are therefore made to some among them on account of their uniqueness in treatment. Swami Siddhananda ably demonstrates that the teachings of the Swami are varied and manysided and thus bear comparison to the teachings of the *Upaniṣads*. Like the *Upaniṣads*, these contain passages which appear to be contradictory to each other, beneath which there runs the basic thread of unity. This article is left incomplete probably for want of space in this issue, as is the case with the inspiring article of J.M.G. Veel who brings out ably the Swami's stand on the place of scientific ideal with reference to religion. Besides being informative, thorough going is the study made of the following topics:

Swami Vivekananda and the common man of India, Swami Vivekananda on spiritual practice, The Vedantic Nationalism of Swami Vivekananda, Mankind needs the comprehensive Vivekananda, Swami Vivekananda and social reform, Vedanta and Vivekananda, Mythical religion and philosophical faith, Swami Vivekananda and certain tenets of Hindu philosophy and some Incidents of Swami Vivekananda's childhood. Of special interest and valuable for the modern builders of India are articles *Spiritual Values in Education and Swami Vivekananda and the Present situation.*

A vivid description is given of the centres of the Ramakrishna order in the west and of the Vivekananda cottage at Thousand Island park. Inspiring and realistic are the pictures included in this issue of the Swami from various aspects. This issue of the Vedanta Kesari would immensely benefit any reader. The get up of the issue is neat and attractive.

V. VARADACHARI.

FRANCIS WILLIAM BAIN by Keshav Mutalik; University of Bombay, 1963. Price Rs. 7—00.

This is a critical biography of an orientalist with a difference. F. W. Bain was Principal of the Deccan College, Poona in the early years of this century. Aspects of the subject as man, teacher and writer of stories, which are 'imitations' of Indian romances and legends, come for attention and justice is done to all three of these. An extreme, yet, engaging eccentricity of temperament and a striking individuality of spirit and mind seem to have characterized the man; no wonder the teacher and the writer too reflected these qualities. Giving up a fellowship at all Souls, Oxford to join the I.E.S. and become an "Anglo-Indian," he turned out to be one of the few westerners to make a sincere attempt to understand the traditional Indian ethos by living in the spirit of Hindu culture and way of life. He participated in it in his daily life and propagated it not only through his stories but also through his miscellaenous philosophical writings. These last are not considered by the author at all.

As Principal, Bain, the true teacher that he was, taught his students to think for themselves, though that made him a bad examination coach. That, as the author points out, was an indirect encouragement given to them to take part in the political struggle for independence, although he himself was not for Indian home-rule and used to insist that students should not barter their education away for politics.

To the general reader, Bain survives mainly as a writer of Indian stories which run into numerous volumes. These are a *tour de force;* on the model of *Kādambarī, Daśakamāracarita* and *Kathāsaritsāgara.* Bain composed his own stories and, indulging in a trick of mystification, palmed them off as translations from Sanskrit. That was the flattery of imitation paid by Bain to his Sanskrit models. Mr. Mutalik has a good study of the techniques of Bain's story-telling. But the suggested comparisons with the modern short story are rather out of place because the Sanskrit romance which Bain had in mind is a different literary 'kind' altogether. One wonders whether the attempt of Bain to make English capture the flavour and idiom of Sanskrit is not misguided and misleading. The attempt does not succeed without damage to English idiom. To say that Bain lent form to the formless Indian romances argues a want of understanding of the Gothic form of romances not only in Indian but in European literatures.

The frequent comparison of Bain with Johnson by the author invites the reminder that there is more to Johnson than mere oddity. Bain for all his attainments, does not "put one in mind of" the Great Cham.

A few solecisms and quite a few misprints are noticed. The documentation in the appendix part looks a trace over done. The book is well got up and modestly priced. On the whole, the publication of this successful doctoral thesis is a commendable venture by the author and the University of Bombay.

S. VISWANATHAM

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FORM IV

(*See Rule* 8)

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I, Dr. K. Pampapathi Rao, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

K. PAMPAPATI RAO,

Publisher.

తిక్కన వాడిన సంఖ్యా వాచకములు.

I ఒ క టి

(a) 'ఒక' 'ఒక్క'—అనునవి విశేషణములు. వీనికి 'ఒక' అను సంఖ్యార్థమును, 'ఒకానొక' అను ననిశ్చితార్థమును నున్నవి. సందర్భమును బట్టి యీ శబ్దములు విభిన్నార్థముల నొసగుచున్నవి.

ఒకవ్రేలఁ ని. 5–17

ఒక్కతేరు ని. 7–9

ఒకపలుకైనఁ ని. 8–122

ఒక్కనాఁటఁ ని. 10–98

ఒకయింటఁ స్త్రీ. 1–34

ఒక్కయొడలు స్త్రీ. 1–34

ఒక్కంతలు ఆను. 2–411 (ప్రాఁ. ఒక్కెత్తు)

ఒక్కగర్భంబుధరియించి శా. 3–116 ('ఒక్క'కు అర్థములేదు)

ఒక్కరూపు ని. 1–44 (అదేరూపు; ఒకటేరూపు)

ఒక్కరూప ఆశ్ర. 1–34 (అదేరూపు)

ఒక్కరూప ఆను. 5–211 (సమానము)

ఒక్కరూపున ద్రో. 5–177 (అట్టిదే)

ఒక్కరూపు స్త్రీ. 1–206 (ఒక్కటికూడ లేదు)

అక్కడనిక్కడ నొక్కరూపునఁ ద్రో. 4–165 (ఒకేసమయమున రెండు స్థలములలో నుండు)

ఒక్కతెరువు ద్రో. 5–63 (ఏదో ఒకతెరువు)

ఒకచేడియ ఆశ్ర. 1–41 (కేవలమొక ఆడుది)

ఒక తలోదరి ఆశ్ర. 1–40 (కేవలమొక ఆడుది)

ని = నిర్వచనోత్తర రామాయణము.

ఒక్క–పెట్ట భీ. 1–242 (ఒకే దెబ్బతో,)
,, భీ. 2–53 (ఒకేపరి)

(b) 'ఒక్కొ–' అనునది 'ఒక్క–' కు రూపాంతరము.

ఒక్కొమొగిఁ బెల్లగిలంగ బిట్టడరె సక్రోధాంతరంగంబుగఁ
క. 2–352

'ఒక్కొ–' అను నీ రూపము నన్నయ భారతభాగమున "ఒక్కొకొఱవి" (ఆది. 7–36) అని యొక వచనములో నున్నది, వచనములోనున్నను 'ఒక్కొండు' (ఆది. 3–98), 'ఒక్కొట' (ఆర. 1–305) మున్నగు రూప ములనుబట్టి యది కృత్రిమరూపము గాదని నిర్ధరింపవచ్చునని చిలుకూరి నారాయణరావుగారు (ఆ. భా. చ. పుట. 1413).

నన్నెచోడ పండితారాధ్యుల భాషపై దాము గావించిన పరిశోధనలను గూర్చి తెలుపుచు (Thesis submitted for the M. O. L. Degree of the Madras University) వి. వి. రాఘవయ్యగారు 'ఒక్క–' కు 'ఒండు' చేర్చినచో 'ఒక్కొండు' వచ్చుననియు, కొందఱుకవులు యతిస్థానమున దానిని ప్రయోగించియుండినను అది ఉభయ యతిగా గానవచ్చుననియు, కావున 'ఒక్కొ–' అనునది సరియైన రూపమని నిర్ణయించుట కాధారము చాలదనియు వ్రాసియున్నారు.

నారాయణరావుగారు చూపిన 'ఒక్కొట' (ఆర. 1–305) అను ప్రయోగ మునుగూర్చి రాఘవయ్యగారేమియు ననలేదు. పై నిచ్చిన తిక్కన ప్రయోగ ములో 'ఒక్కొ–' అనునది 'ఒండు'తోగూడక విడిగా నుండుట జూచినచో రాఘవయ్యగారు పొరపడిరనుట స్పష్టమగును.

ఒక్కొనిమేషంబున దేవదానవులతోఁ గూడన్ (ఉ. 4–424)

అనునది మఱియొక ప్రయోగము.

'ఒక్కొండు' రూపములును దిక్కనలో నున్నవి.

ఒక్కొండైనను నొవ్వఁడింతకును క. 1–225

ఒక్కొండును లేచదివ నీదుకొడుకులు స్త్రీ. 1–83

పై రెండుదాహరణములలోను యతి హల్లునుబట్టి ప్రవర్తిల్లుచున్నది.

పదునొకొంటికి ఉ. 4–142 (వచనము)

ఒనరిన నైన్యముల్ పదునొకొంటికి ఉ. 4-140

ఈ యుదాహరణములను బట్టి యొకచోట హల్లును బట్టియు మఱియొక చోట నచ్చును బట్టియు యతి నడచుచున్నదని తెలియును. అప్పకవి యీ చివరి (ఉ. 4-140) ప్రయోగమును గూర్చి "పదునొకొంటికి నని యున్న చోట సంధిగూర్చి స్వరప్రధాన వడిగాను సోమయాజులు ప్రయోగించినారు. ఇది తెలియక కొందఱు మూఢులు దేశ్యనిత్య సమాసవడియని యను కొందురు"— అని వ్రాసియున్నాడు.

(c) 'ఒక్క' అను దానిని రెండుమార్లుచ్చరించినపుడు సందర్భమును బట్టి విభిన్నములగు నర్థములు వచ్చును.

ఒక్కొక యమ్మునన్ ని. 3-9 (ఒక్కదాని నొకబాణముతో)

ఒక్కొక్కచోటన్ ని. 4-61 (ఇక్కడనక్కడ; ఎల్లతావుల)

ఒక్కొక్కమరి ని. 10-112 (ఒకదాని తరువాత నొకటి)

ఒక్కొకచోట ని. 8-52 (కొన్నిచోట్ల)

ఒక్కొకమరి ని. 5-3 (ఒక్కొక్కప్పుడు)

ఒక్కొకభూమిపతులై ని. 9-64 (ఒక్కొక్కడు నేదేనొక భూభాగమున కధిపతియై)

బహువచనముతో నంతమగు నీప్రయోగము గమనింపదగినది.

ఒక్కొక్కచో ని. 10-44 (కొన్ని స్థలములలో)

ఒక్కొక్క తెఱంగున ద్రో. 5-230 (విభిన్నములగు....)

దిక్కుదిక్కునకు
ఒక్కొక్క మొగంబు } ఆను. 4-425 (ఒక్కొక్కదాని కొక్కొక్కటి)

ఒక్కొక్కచోట ఆను. 5-151 (ఒక్కొక్కప్పుడు)

ఒక్కొక్కమాటు అశ్వ. 2-125 (,,)

(d) 'ఒక' అను నీ సంఖ్యావాచకమునకు మాత్రమే మహదమహత్ప్రయోగములు రెండును గాన్పించుచున్నవి.

మహద్వాచకము

(i)

ఏక	బహు
ఒకరుఁడు ని. 6-10	ఒకళ్లు ఉ 3-91 క. 1-129
ఒకరుండు ని. 4-81	ఒకఱులు ఆను 4-111 క. 1-92
ఒక్కరుఁడు ని. 6-122	ఒక్కఱులు ఉ. 3-91
ఒక్కరుండు శా. 1-58	
ఒకండు ని. 5-31	
ఒక్కండు శా. 1-236	
ఒక్కొండు క. 1-225	
ఒక్కరున్ (ద్వి) శా. 6-581 ద్రో 2-254	
ఒకరుని ఆను. 5-312	
ఒకరునిమాట ని. 4-68	
ఒకరునిక ని. 7-7	
ఒక్కరుదెస క. 2-158	
ఒక్కరిని వి. 3-89	
ఒక్కరి ఉ. 1-109	
ఒకరి ఉ. 2-160	

'ఒక్కరి, ఒక్కరిని, ఒకరి' — మొదలగునవి తప్పురూపములనియు 'ఒకరు' అనునది పోతనకాలమున మహన్మహతీ బహువచన రూపముగా గాననగుననియు నారాయణరావుగారు (ఆ. భా. పుట 1203)

(ii) 'ఒక్కఁడు' అను దానిని మహద్వాచకముగా నన్నయ వాడలేదని చిలుకూరి నారాయణరావుగారు (ఆ. భా. చ. పు. 1415). సభాపర్వములో నన్నయ మహత్తుగా నీ శబ్దమును ప్రయోగించియున్నాడు. 'ఈ వికర్ణుఁడు బాలుఁడయ్యును....ఒక్కని కేర్పరింపగ' (స. 2-236) ఈ ప్రయోగమును గూర్చి నారాయణరావుగారు ఏమియు జెప్పలేదు. ఈ ప్రయోగముననున్న 'ఒక్కనికి' అనుదానిని 'ఒక్కరుఁడు' అను దాని నుండి సాధింపలేము. 'ఒక్కరుకు' అందమన్న మఱియొక చిక్కు. నన్నయ భారతమునందు 'కు' ప్రత్యయమునకు ముందుత్వమున్నచో నా రెంటి నడుమ 'న' అనునది

తప్పక వచ్చి చేరును. కావున నన్నయ 'ఒక్కఁడు' అను దానిని మహద్వాచకముగ గూడ వాడెననుట స్పష్టము.

నన్నెచోడ పండితారాధ్యులు 'ఒక్కఁడు' అనుదానిని మహద్వాచకముగ ప్రయోగించిరి. తిక్కన 'ఒక్కఁడు' (మహద్వాచకముగా సుమారు 300 సార్లు, అమహత్తుగా 90 సార్లు) తోపాటు 'ఒక్కొండు' అను దానినిగూడ మహత్తుగా ప్రయోగించినాడు.

ఒకళ్లలు, ఒకళ్లు—అను బహువచన రూపములు తిక్కన వాడియున్నాడు. ఇవి నన్నెచోడ పండితారాధ్యులు వాడలేదు.

(iii) నీ వొకండు దక్క ని. 4-67 ('అవు' లేకుండ).

మహతి.

ఒక్కర్తు ని. 5-4 ; 8-16
ఒకర్తు ని. 8-36 ; 8-58
ఒక్కతె ని. 8-36 ; 8-39
ఒక్కత ఆను. 5-312 ; మౌ 25 ; స్త్రీ 2-133
ఒకతవు వి. 2-256
ఒక్కతవే వి. 2-335
ఒక్కతి స. 1-193
ఓర్తు ని. 8-38 ; ఆను. 2-206 ; శ. 2-160
ఓర్తోర్తుఁ ని. 8-49
ఓర్తునకుఁ ని. 5-101
ఓర్తుమగని (ష) ఆను. 5-105

తిక్కన "ఒకత, ఒక్కత, ఒక్కతి, ఓర్తు" — అను రూపములను మాత్రమే వాడెనని నారాయణరావుగారు. (ఆ. భా. చ. పుట. 1202). పై నిచ్చిన మొదటి మూడుదాహరణములను బట్టి యీ యభిప్రాయము సరికాదని తెలియు చున్నది.

అమహత్తు (మహన్మహతీభిన్నము)

(a) ఒకఁడు శా. 2-115
ఒకండు శా. 1-123

ఒక్కఁడు శా. 1-127

ఒక్కండు శా. 1-6

ఒక్కొండు స్త్రీ. 1-83

ఒకొండు ఉ. 4-140 (ఒకొంటికి)

ఒక్కటి ని. 2-43 ఆను. 2-237

ఒకటి ని. 5-38 ఆను. 2-237

'ఒక్కటొ ఒకటి'-అనునవి ప్రథమైక వచనరూపములుగా నన్నయ కాలమున లేవని చిలుకూరి నారాయణరావుగారు. తిక్కనభాషలో నట్టి ప్రయోగములు మెండుగ నున్నవి.

ఒకటఁ (తృ.) ఆను. 2-402

ఒకటిఁ (ద్వి.) ఆను 2-418

ఒక్కటఁ (స.) ఆను. 3-151 (ఒక్కసారిగా ?)

ఒక్కటఁ (స.) ఆను. 3-196

ఒక్కఁడుఁ (సముచ్చయ) ఆను. 4-80

ఒక్కండ (ఏవార్థక) ఆను. 4-174

ఒక్కటియుఁ (సముచ్చయ) ఆను. 4.216

ఒక్కనిచేత (తృ.) ఆను. 5-250

(అమహద్రూప మిట్టిదియుండుట గమనింపదగినది)

ఒక్కటన (తృ.) ఆను. 5-389

ఒకంటియందు (స.) అశ్వ. 2-55

ఒకటియందు (స.) అశ్వ. 2-93

ఒక్కంటిన్ (ద్వి) భీ. 2-137

ఒక్కటిన్ (ద్వి) ఆను. 4-152

ఒకంటను (స) స్వ. 82

ఒక్కంటన్ (తృ) ద్రో. 5-387

ఒకొంటికి ఉ. 4-140

ఒక్కటై ఆను. 5-291 (కలసియుండి)

ఒక్కటన్ ఆను. 3-151 (ఒక్కసారిగా)

(b) ఒండు

ఒండుకల్మషంబు ఆను. 1-282 (ఒకటియునుంచేసి)
ఒండెగ్గు ని. 8-103 (..)
ఒండుగడ ని. 5-47 (ఒకేయొకచోట)

పై యుదాహరణములలో 'ఒండు' అనునది సంఖ్యావాచకము. సాధారణముగా 'ఒండు' అనునది 'ఇతరము' అను నర్థముననే ప్రయుక్తమైయున్నది. 'ఒండు' వ్యస్తముగా సంఖ్యావాచికాదని ఆ. భా. చ.

అమహత్తు

ఒండుగడ ని. 5-47
ఒండుకల్మషంబు ఆను. 1-282
ఒండెగ్గు ని. 8-103
ఒండు వి. 1-226
ఒంటన్ ఉ. 3-63
ఒండున శా. 1-172
ఒండొంటికి ని. 1-4
ఒండొంటితోడన్ ని. 4-45
ఒండొంటి సందులను ని. 6-98
ఒండొండ ని. 8-39 (పరస్పరము)

'ఒండు' కాని 'ఒకు' కాని—'ఒండు' శబ్దము తర్వాతవచ్చుచో నవి ప్రథమలో నెప్పుడును నుండవని నారాయణరావుగారు. (ఆ. భా. చ. పుట 1418) కాని 'ఒండొండ' యనుచో రెండవది ప్రథమలోనే యున్నది. నన్నెచోడుడుకూడ 'ఒండొండ' రూపమును (కు. 1-96) ప్రయోగించి యున్నాడు.

ఒండులు శా. 5-386
ఒండ్లు శా. 6-163. అశ్వ. 2-29

'ఒండు' అమహత్తుగానే ప్రయోగింపబడినదని (ఆ. భా. చ. పుట. 1417) నారాయణరావుగారు. తిక్కన యీశబ్దమును మహత్తుగను ప్రయోగించి యున్నాడు.

ఒంకులక్ వి. 1-103
ఒండులు ఉ. 1-278
ఒండ్లకును స. 2-72, క 1-266
ఒండ్లు స. 2-112

ఒరఁడు, ఒరువుఁడు.

మహత్తు

ఏక	బహు
ఒండొరుక్ వి. 2-343	ఒండొరులకుక్ వి. 1-255
ఖీ. 1-261	ఒఁడొరులచెన వి.1-14
ఒండొరుసూతులు క. 1-91	ఒండురులక్ వి. 2-240 ఖీ. 1-261
ఒండొరుచేత ఉ. 1-193	
ఒండొరుతో శా. 4-111	
ఒండొరులతోడ ఖీ. 2-309	ఒండొరులతోడ ఉ. 3-50
ఒండొరుమీఁద శా. 2-190	
	ఒండొరువులక్ వి. 3-191; 5-83
	ఒండొరువులతో ద్రో. 1-135
	ఒండొరువులతోడ శా. 6-608
	ఒండొరువులకంఱె ఖీ. 1-138
	ఒండొరువులలోఁజెమటలు ఖీ. 5-396

పదునొకండవ శతాబ్దపు భాషనుగూర్చి వ్రాయుచు 'ఒండు' పై వచ్చి చేరిన 'ఒరు' అనునది ప్రథమారూపముతో నెందు నగపడుటలేదనియు (ఆ. భా. చ. పుట. 1418) 'ఒండొరులు' (ఆది. 4-132. 130 కాదు.) అనుపాఠము తప్పనియు నారాయణరావుగారు తెలిపిరి. ఒండొరులు అను రూపమాది పర్వము వ్రాతప్రతులలో నెన్నిటనో కలదని రాఘవయ్యగారు. ఎట్లున్నను—తిక్కన్న లో మాత్రము ప్రథమారూపము కానరాదు. భారత కవులెవ్వరును వాడలేదని నారాయణరావుగారు (ఆ. భా. చ. 1203)

(c) 'ఒంటి' యనునది 'ఒండు' యొక్క విశేషణరూపము. ఇది కళ. ఎప్పుడును నిది సంఖ్యావాచిగనే యున్నది.

ఒంటికంబము శా. 4-17
ఒంటిచీర శ. 2-283

ఒంటి యనుదానికి స్వతంత్ర ప్రయోగమును గలదు.

అర్జునుఁడొంటివోయె ద్రో. 4-128
బాలుఁడొంటి ద్రో. 2-61
ఒంటిమై శా. 2-420
ఒంటిమెయి క. 2-85
ఒంటియైన భీ. 2-71 (ఒంటరి)
ఒంటిదలపడి వి. 4-64

(d) 'ఒరుఁడు'—అనునది వ్యస్తముగ నున్నపుడు ('ఒకమనుజుఁడు' అను నర్థము నీయవలసియున్నను) 'ఇతరుఁడు' అను నర్థమునే యిచ్చుచున్నది.

ఏక	బహు
ఒరుఁడు ని. 5-71	ఒరులు ని. 3-102; 8-34
ఒరుఁ ని. 4-81	ఒరులకుఁ ని. 7-128
	ఒరులసొమ్ము ని. 10-139
	ఒరువులవాఁడు ఉ. 4-35

పై ప్రయోగములలో 'ఒరులు' (ని. 8-34) అనునది స్త్రీలను గూర్చి చెప్పునపుడు వాడిన పదము. దానికి ఏకవచనరూపమెట్లుండునో తెలియదు. 'ఒరువుఁడు'—అను ఏకవచన రూపము తిక్కనలోలేదు.

(e) కొండొకకాలమునకు శా. 1-268
కొండొకనేపునకు ద్రో. 1-198 (కొంతకాలము)
కొండొకవడి అశ్వ. 1-151
కొండొకకీలాలంబు వి. 5-262 (ఇంకను కొంచెము)
కొండొకతేఱి ద్రో. 1-357 (కొంచెము)
కొండొకతోఁచు ద్రో. 1-386 (కొంత)
కొండొకపెద్ద ద్రో. 2-87 (చిన్న-పెద్ద)
కొండొకవు ఉ. 1-76 (చిన్నవాడవు)
కడపటిది అమహత్తు కాదు.

(f) ఎక్కటి (నామవాచక) (ఒకమనుజుడు) స్త్రీ. 1-171.
ఎక్కటి కార్యము న. 1-89 (విశేషణము)
ఎక్కటి కయ్యంబు క. 3-247
ఎక్కటి కయ్యము న. 2-50
ఎక్కటెక్కటి పోరెదరు ద్రో. 4-265
ఎక్కటిదాఁక క. 2-36 } (adv.)
ఎక్కటిదానవు వి, 1-90

చివరిప్రయోగమున "ఎక్కడి" అని యుండదగును.

ఎక్కటి అనునది ప్రథమలో (స్త్రీ పర్వ) వాడబడినది. విశేషణముగను క్రియావిశేషణముగను (adv.) ఇది వాడబడినది.

ఈ శబ్దము కళయని ఆ. భా. చ. తిక్కనలోను దీనికి భిన్నత గాసరాదు. కుమారసంభవములో నిది ద్రుతప్రకృతికముగ గూడ వాడబడినదని రాఘవయ్యగారు.

(g) తొలుముద్ద ద్రో. 3-39 (మొదటి కబళము)
తొలునాఁడు అశ్వ. 2-165 (,, దినము)
తొలునాఁటి భీ. 1-303
తొలుతపట్టి ఆను. 1-178 (మొదటి బిడ్డ)
తొల్తన్ భీ. 2-321
తొల్తూరు శా. 1-7 (మొదటి బిడ్డ)
తొలుతాఁకు భీ. 1-242 (మొదటి దాడి)

'తొలు'-అనగా "మొదటి" అనియర్థము. 'తొంటి' యనగా "పూర్వపు" అని.

తొంటి ద్రో. 2-185
తొంటి శా. 5-496

(h) మొదలు భీ. 1-27
మొదలన్ ఉ. 3-123 (పూర్వము)
మొదలినాలవుపాలు శా. 5-136 (First quarter)
మొదలిటి వి. 1-179
మొదలింటినుండియున్ వి. 2.169 (ఆరంభము నుండియు)

'మొదటి' అనురూపము తిక్కనలోలేదు. భారతమునసే లేదని చిలుకూరి నారాయణరావుగారు.

(i) ఒడ్డులు -- అనుదానిని సంఖ్యావాచకములలో నారాయణరావుగా రిచ్చి యున్నారు. దీనికి 'ఇతరులు' అను నర్థమేకాని సంఖ్యార్థమెచ్చటను గాన వచ్చుటలేదు. దీనికి ఏకవచనరూపము (ఒడ్డు) తిక్కనలో లేదు. ఉదా. ఉ. 1-278. ఒడ్డు – నిఘంటువులలో నున్నది.

(j) 'ఒకానొక' అనురూపము భారతకవులు వాడినట్లు కన్పింపదనియు, నన్నయలో లేదనియు నారాయణరావుగారు (ఆ. భా. చ. 1193) తెలియ జేసిరి. తిక్కనలో 'ఒకానొక' అనురూపములేదు.

II రెండు

1, విశేష్యము రెండు భీ. 2-55 ని. 5-118
రెండై స. 1-181
రెంటియందలి ని. 8-39
రెంటిని క. 1-90
రెంటన్ ఆను. 2-228

విశేషణము రెండుజాతులన్ ని. 10-61
రెండుదడములు ని. 1-44
రెండువిండులు క. 2-264
రెండుపదులు క. 2-378
రెండువాఁగులన్ క. 2-154

2. రెండవుసారి ఆను. 3-285
రెండవు నష్టమి ఆను 3-16
రెండవ పని క. 3-225
రెండవ వాటు భీ. 2-194
రెండవ నన్ను వి. 5-336 (రెండవవాడనైన నన్ను)

3. 'ఇరు, ఈరు, ఇను' – అనునవి 'రెండు'కు విశేషణరూపములు.
ఇరుమెయిన్ భీ. 1-267
ఇరువాఁగు క. 3-266
ఇరుమేను ద్రో. 5-295

ఇరుపీనుఁగున్ భీ. 2-209
ఇరువేయి ద్రో. 1-244
ఇరువేయిటిన్ వి. 1-213
ఇరుమూఁడు క. 3-160 భీ. 1-273

ఈ కడపటి మూడుదాహరణములలోను 'ఇరు' అనునది మఱొక సంఖ్యావాచకమునకు ముందున్నది. ఈ సంఖ్యావాచకములన్నియు నేక వచనరూపముననే ఉన్నవి.

ఇరుదిక్కులు భీ. 3-248
ఇరుమొనల జనులు క. 3-360
ఇరుగొలఁకులు శ. 1-53

'ఇరు' తరువాతవచ్చు నామవాచకములన్నియు బహువచనముననే యుండునని (ఆ. భా చ. పుట. 1420) నారాయణరావుగారు. పదునొకండవ శతాబ్దిభాషపట్ల నది నిజముకావచ్చును. తిక్కనలో రెండువిధములై నరూప ములు నున్నవి.

ఇరువురు క. 2-160
ఇరువురము ఆను. 1-172

ఇవి మహన్మహతీ రూపములు

ఈ రైదు శ. 1-226
ఈరేడు క. 2-165. వి. 4-219

రెండవ పదమగు సంఖ్యావాచకము మొదలనచ్చున్నచో 'ఇరు' 'ఈరు' అగును.

ఇనుమాఱు క. 3-317
ఇన్మాఱు ఆను. 3-284
ఇనుమడి శా. 3-462
ఇన్నూరు శా. 3-375

4. ఇడుమ:— ఇది సంఖ్యావాచకమనియు 'రు' స్థానమున 'డు' వచ్చి యున్నదనియు ఆ. భా. చ. (పుట. 1205)

ఇడుములు ని. 9-23; భీ. 3-280; వి. 2-234

5. రెట్టి:— (రెండింతలు)

రెట్టిగ ని. 9–99

రెట్టి భీ. 1–279; 3–146

6. 'కవ, దోయి, జోడు, జంట, జోడి' — ఇవి యన్నియు 'రెండు' అను సంఖ్యను బోధించునవే.

తొడదోయి ని. 10–143

కనుఁగవదోయి ని. 8–54

చేదోయి ని. 8–54

తమ్ముదోయి అశ్వ. 4–143

ఏనుఁగుదోయి ఉ. 2–121

వెలిపట్టుదోయి శ. 2–184

కేలుదోయిపదిటన్ ని. 5–86

పదిదోయి చేతులు ని. 5–132

కన్నుఁగవ వి. 2–45

కనుఁగవ ని. 8–54

జక్కవ కవలు వి. 2–240

కపలు శ. 1–61

కవలవారు ఉ. 1–29

కవలవారిన్ ని. 10–134

కవ్వడి క. 3–381

కవదొనలు శ. 2–333 వి. 5–45

జోడు వి. 3–149

జోడుపక్కెర వి. 3–132

జోడి వి. 1–185 (సమానము అని అర్థము) .

ద్రోణుజంటకు ద్రో. 3–49

జంట మెఱుంగులు క. 3–340

జంటమెఱుఁగులు ద్రో. 3–44

7. 'ఇద్దఱు, ఇరువురు' అనునవి మహన్మహతీరూపములు.

ఇద్దఱు వి. 2-343. ని. 4-76

ఇద్దఱఁ ని. 4-5

ఇద్దఱకు భీ. 1-261

ఇద్దఱతారతమ్యములు వి. 5-13

ఇద్దఱందు శ. 2-269

ఇరువురు ని 3-96 వి. 2-349

ఇరువురనిరువురఁ ని. 9-64

ఇరువురకుఁ. ని. 10-120

ఇరువురశరజాలములు ని. 4-51

III మూఁడు

అమహత్తు :—

1. నామవాచకము మూఁడు, ద్రో. 1-384

2. విశేషణము మూఁడమ్ములు ని. 5-151

మూఁడుమూర్తులు ని. 1-65

మూఁడులోకములు ని. 1-80

మూఁడు "సార్థబిందుక మనుటకుఁ గవిత్రయము వారి ప్రయోగముల యందుఁ దగిన యుదాహరణములు" దొరక లేదని శబ్దరత్నాకరమనుట పొరపాటు. ఈ క్రింది ప్రయోగములలో నిది సార్థబిందుకమనియే స్పష్టముగ (ప్రాసనుబట్టి) తెలియుచున్నది.

(i) మూఁడు, వాఁడు వి. 2-58

(ii) ,, ,, ద్రో. 4-201

(iii) ,, ,, ద్రో. 4-296

(iv) ,, ,, శ. 1-148

(v) ,, ,, శ. 1-334

(vi) ,, ,, అశ్వ. 1-83

(vii) ,, ,, శా. 2-12

(viii) ,, పోఁడిమి క. 2-357

(ix) ,, ,, క. 2-375

'పోఁడిమి' శబ్దముకడ నిందలి చివరి ప్రయోగము శబ్దరత్నాకరమున నుదాహరింపబడినది - కాని యట, 'మూఁడేయ నొచ్చియుఁ బోఁడిమి నెడక' అను నీప్రయోగము 'నొచ్చియుఁ బోఁడిమి నెడక' అని మాత్రమే యొసగ బడినది.

3. మూఁటికి భీ. 1-21
మూఁటను భీ. 2-34

మూఁడింట, మూఁడిట అను రూపములు తిక్కనలోలేవు. ఇట్టిరూపములు నన్నయలో లేవని నారాయణరావుగారు (ఆ. భా. చ. పుట 1423.)

4. ద్విగుసమాసములో 'మూఁడు' అనునది తొలిపదమగుచో. మొదటి యక్షరము మాత్రము శేషించును. దీర్ఘము హ్రస్వమగును. ద్వితీయపదాది హల్లు ద్విత్వమగును. ద్వితీయ పదాది నచ్చున్నచో నట యడాగ మగును గనుక నా 'య' హల్లేకనుక నది ద్విత్వమగును.

ముత్తునియ భీ. 2-53, 78.
ముచ్చిచ్చు భీ. 2-277
ముక్కంటి ద్రో. 1-45
ముమ్మాఱు ఆను. 3-284
ముమ్మాటి జలపానము ఆను. 3-285
ముస్నీరు ఉ. 2-265
మువ్వంచ ఉ. 1-93

(మూఁడు + పంచ = మువ్వంచ — శ. ర.)

ముయ్యంచు మౌ. 54; 95
ముయ్యందము ని. 8-62

ఈరెండు ప్రయోగములలోను 'మూఁడు' పై నచ్చుచేరినది. 'ముయ్యందము' అను దానిలో 'మూఁడు' ఆధిక్యమును తెలియజేయునుగాని సంఖ్యనుగాదు.

ముప్పిరి ని. 10-140 ద్రో. 3-24 శా. 4-192 శ. 1-139 ఆను. 1-376

మూడు వస్తువులుగాని భావములుగాని కూడు నప్పుడే 'ముప్పిరి' - అను శబ్దమును తిక్కన ప్రయోగించెనని నారాయణరావుగారు చెప్పుచు (ఆ. భా. చ. పుట 1209) ద్రోణపర్వప్రయోగము (పుత్రశోకానలంబును గ్రోధవహ్నియు) తప్పయి యుండునని యన్నారు.

ఇదికాక వేఱొక ప్రయోగమునగూడ నిట్టిది యగపడుచున్నది.

''శోకరోషంబులు ముప్పిరిగొన''—శ. 1-139.

కావున మూడు భావములుగాని వస్తువులుగాని లేనపుడును నిట్టిప్రయోగములు తిక్క-న చేసెననియే యనవలెను.

''సత్వమున్, రజస్సును, దమస్సును....ముప్పిరి'' శా. 4-192.

ఇందు మూడు విషయములున్నవి.

'ముత్పులఁకల్'—(కు. 5-30; 151) అను నన్నెచోడుని ప్రయోగములు ద్విగు సమాసములని రాఘవయ్యగారనుట పొరపాటు.

5. ముప్పురు — అనునది మహన్మహతీరూపము.

ముప్పురు ఉ. 2-156

ముగ్గురు అనునది తిక్క-నలోలేదు.

6. మూఁడవనాఁటిరాత్రి భీ. 2-166

పదుమూఁడవయేఁటి వి. 4-185

ఈ రూపములలో 'అవ' కాననగుచున్నది. 'అగు'తో నున్న ప్రయోగములును గలవు.

పదుమూఁడగు నేఁడు వి. 1-44; 47.

7. మూఁడేసి యమ్మలు పదియేడు గురుఁడు....ద్రో. 2-30.

'నేసి' యను దానిని నన్నయ వాడెననియు నది 'చేసి'కి రూపాంతర మనియు చిలుకూరి నారాయణరావుగారు. తిక్క-నలో ''నేసి'' రూపములు లేవు. 'ఏసి' రూపములే కలవు.

IV నాలుగు

'నాల్గు, నాలువు' — అనునవి రూపాంతరములు.

1. విశేషణము:— నాలుగు నారసంబులు భీ. 2-228

నాలుగమ్ములు భీ. 2-236; 383

నాలుగు నెఱఁగులు వి. 2-7

దిక్కు-లు నాలుగు వి. 2-134

2. విశేష్యము :— నాలుగు వి. 3-155
నాల్గు శా. 6-315
నాలువుగ వి. 5-48
నాలుగింట ద్రో. 5-52
నాలుగిటన్ వి. 3-216
నాల్గిట వి. 5-150
నాల్గింటన్ ఉ. 2-37
నాల్గింటిని శా. 6-6
నాలుగింటిని ఆను. 4-301
నాలిగింట శా. 2-177 (వచనములో)

3. నాలుగేసి యమ్ములు పి. 4-250

4. నాలవనాఁడు భీ. 2-257
నాలవజాతి వి. 1-218
నాలవుపాలు శా. 5-136
నాలవునాశ్రమము శా. 5-338
'అవ, అవు' — అను రెండురూపములును నున్నవి.

5. 'నలు, నల్' — అనునవి 'నాలుగు' యొక్క విశేషణరూపములు.
నలుమడి ద్రో. 2-213
నలుమడింప వి. 5-341
నలువది శా. 5-51
నలువ ద్రో. 2-170
(నలువాయి = నలువ — అందురు.)
నలుగాలివానన్ శా. 1-71 అశ్వ. 1-181
'నలుగాలివి'—అనగా 'నాలుగుకాళ్లుకలవి' అని(జంతువులని)
నలుగడ ద్రో. 3-62
నల్గడలకు దో. 2-33
నలుగడలకు ద్రో. 1-298
నల్దిక్కులను ద్రో. 2-134

ఇచ్చట 'నలు, నల్' అనువానికి 'అన్ని' అని అర్థము

నలువురు ఉ. 1-225

నలువుర్ ఆను. 1-316

నలుపురన్ ఉ. 4-70

ఇవి మహన్మహతీ రూపములు

కనుఁగవదోయి ని. 8-54

ఇచ్చట 'కవదోయి' అనునది 'నాల్గు' అనుసంఖ్యనుదెల్పును.

V 'ఏను, ఐదు, అయిదు'

నన్నయ 'ఏను' అనురూపమునే వాడెనని ఆ. ద్రా. చ. నన్నెచోడ పండితారాధ్యులిరువురును 'ఏను' రూపమునే వాడిరని రాఘవయ్యగారు తిక్కనలో వీ మూఁడురూపములును గలవు. (ఏను 120సార్లు-ఐదు 160 సార్లు-అయిదు ఒకటి, రెండుమార్లు)

అయిదు భీ. 2-71

ఐదు శా. 5-119 క. 2-321 (సర్వనామము)

ఐదు వి. 5-160 (విశేషణము)

భూతములైదు ఆను. 4-78

ఐదయూళ్ళు ఉ. 3-158

ఐదిటికి ఆను. 4-279

ఐదిట వి. 5-77

ఐదింట క. 1-96

ఏను అశ్వ. 2-13 (సర్వనామము)

ఏను క. 3-284 (విశేషణము)

ఏనూళ్లు ఉ. 2-219

ఏనూఱు ఆను. 1-175

ఏనాళ్లు ఉ. 4-416

'ఏనూఱు, ఏనాళ్ళు' అనుచో ఏనులోని 'ను' అనునది విడువబడినది.

ఏనిటిని. ఉ. 2-37

పేనింట శ. 1-194 ద్రో. 1-169

పేనగు దివసంబు ద్రో. 5-324-1264

పేనవునాఁడు ఆను. 4-126

'పేవురు' అనునది మహన్మహతీ రూపము 'ఐదుగురు, ఐదువురు' అను రూపములు లేవు.

పేవురు....అలవున్ వి. 2-257

ఏవురు....చనవున్ క. 3-271

ఈ రెండును యతిస్థానములలోనివి. దేవర, పేవురు వి. 3-81 ఈ యుదాహరణమున 'వు' ప్రాసలోనున్నది. ఇట్టివే మఱికొన్ని యుదాహరణములు

ఏవురు భీ. 2-404, ఉ. 3-110, శ. 1-14, 2-367, స. 1-203, స్త్రీ. 1-90

ఏవురందు శ. 2-109

ఏగురు ద్రో. 5-177 (వచనము)

దీనికి వేఱు ప్రయోగములేదు. తిక్కన 'ఏవురు' అనియే ప్రయోగించె ననవలెను.

సన్నయలోఁ నీ యేగురు రూపమున్నదని చెప్పుటకు దగిన ప్రయోగము లేదు.

VI ఆఱు

1. విశేషణము:— ఆఱురసంబులు వి. 1-77

బలములాఱు ఆశ్ర. 1-73

ఆఱైదులు క. 1-111

ఆఱునూఱు క. 2-91 ఉ. 3-318

ఆఱాఱు ద్రో. 4-210 (ఆఱేసి)

2. నామవాచకము:— ఈ యాఱు ఆను. 4-279 శా. 3-426

తక్కినయాఱును అశ్వ 2-29

ఆఱటన్ వి. 5-103

ఆఱింటను శా. 3-422

ఆఱింటిఁ ఉ. 2-37 శా. 5-181

3. ఆఱువనెల ని. 3-85

ఆఱువపాలు క. 2-109

4. ఆర్వురు ఉ. 4-69 భీ. 2-180

ఆర్వురఁ ఉ. 1-253

ఆర్గురు ని 9-64 (ఆర్గురు....అగుదురు)

ఈ ప్రయోగము యతి స్థానమున నున్నను-గకారము వకారమగును గనుక నిదియు శబ్దస్వరూపమును నిర్ధరింప దగిన ప్రయోగముకాదు.

5. ద్విగు సమాసములలో 'పది'కి ముందుండుచో నాది దీర్ఘముహ్రస్వమగును

అఱువదేను వి. 4-122

అఱువది వి 5-103 ఉ. 4-317

6. ఇరుమూఁడు. క. 3-160 భీ. 1-273 (ఆఱు)

VII ఏడు

1. విశేషణము:-

ఏడెనిమిది దివసంబులు ని 10-51

ఏడుగడ ని. 10-151 క. 1-288

ఏడునూఱు శ. 1-400 వి. 3-214

ఏడుదీవులు శా. 2-74

ఏడుపేరులు శా. 3-114

ఏడిరువులను అశ్వ. 1-59

తోమరంబులేడు క. 1-80

నగంబులేడు భీ. 1-34

2. నామవాచకము;-

ఏడు ఉ. 2-37

ఇయ్యేడును శా. 2-379

ఈరేడు క. 2-168 వి. 4-219

ఏడిట ద్రో. 1-169

ఏడింటన్ క. 1-200 భీ. 2-164 వి. 5-66

ఏడింటిఁ శా. 2-169

3. మహన్మతీ రూపము:-

ఏడ్వురు శా. 5-12

ఏడ్వుర క. 2-159; 339

(4) ఏడవు దినము మౌ. 130

(5) 'ఏడు' అనుదాని తర్వాత 'పది' అనునది చేరుచో నేడు 'డె' అని యగును. పకారము ద్విత్వమగుటయు సరళమగుటయు జరుగును.

డెబ్బది శా. 5-51 వి. 5-66

డెబ్బదేడు భీ. 2-34

(6) ఏడెనిమిది దివసంబులు (ని. 10-51) (ఏడో ఎనిమిదో అని)

VIII ఎనిమిది, ఎన్మిది.

1. విశేషణము:-

ఎనిమిది దిక్కులు ని. 6-55

భాగము లెనిమిది ఆను 2-234

ఎనిమిదెనిమిదుల క. 2-345

2. నామవాచకము:-

ఎనిమిది ద్రో 4-7

ఎన్మిది ద్రో 2-30

ఎనిమిదిటిఁ క. 2-345

ఎనిమిదింట క. 2-264 ఆను 5-262

(3) ఎనిమిదియగు శా. 3-385, 5-39 ("అగు"రూపము)

(4) ఎనుబది భీ. 1-22 ("పది"తో "ఎను"రూపము)

(5) ఎనమస్నూఱు ఉ. 3-306 ("ఎన"రూపము)

(6) ఎనమండ్రు క. 2-272 ఉ. 4-336
ఎనమండ్రురు క్రో. 3-216
ఎనమండ్రఁ మౌ. 188 ఉ. 4-113

ఇవి మహన్మహతీరూపములు

IX తొమ్మిది

(1) విశేషణము:-

తొమ్మిదియమ్ములు క. 1-112
తొమ్మిది దొడ్డవాఁడితూపులు క. 2-171
తొమ్మిదినూఱులు శా. 3-119
తొమ్మిది తొమ్మిది క. 3-297 (తొమ్మిదేసి)
తొమ్మిదేసి ఫా. 2-85
వాకిండ్లు తొమ్మిది శా. 1-17
సాయకముల్ తొమ్మిది శ. 1-226

2. నామవాచకము:-

పడుతొమ్మిదులు క్రో. 4-157

(3) సమాసములో "తొమ్మిది"కి పైన "పది" వచ్చి చేరుచో "తొంబది" (క. 1-114: 2-188) అను రూపము వచ్చును.

(4) "తొమ్మనూఱు" (900) ని. 8-84 అసునది గమనింపదగిన ప్రయోగము ఇది "యెనమన్నూఱు" వలెనున్నది.

(5) 'తొమ్మిది' కి మహన్మహతీరూపము తిక్క-నలో లేదు.

X పది

1. విశేషణము:-

పదితలలు ని. 3-55
పదిమడుంగులు ఆను. 4-178
పదిపదిసాయకములు శ. 1-160 (పదియేసి)
పదియేసి శ. 1-191

2. నామవాచకము:-

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(3) పదియవుదినంబు అశ్వ. 3-122

(4) పదాఱవ ఆను. 5-54

'పదాఱు, పదియాఱు' – రూపములుండెడును నన్నయ వాడెననియు, తిక్కన 'పదాఱు' అను రూపమునే వాడెననియు నారాయణరావుగారు (ఆ. భా. చ. 1220)

తిక్కనలో 'పదియాఱు' రూపములును నున్నవి.

దెబ్బదియాఱు స్త్రీ. 2-167
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(5) మహన్మహతీరూపము

పదుండ్రు ఆను. 1-119; 3-209; 210; 222; క. 3-180
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ఈ ప్రయోగమును 'పదువురు' అను దాని కుదాహరణముగా నారాయణ రావుగారిచ్చినారు. తిక్కన 'పదురు' అను రూపమును ప్రయోగించెనని (ఉ. 3-140) నారాయణరావుగారు. ఆ ప్రయోగమందున్న శబ్దము 'పదురు' కాదు–'విదురు'

XI

ఇతర సంఖ్యావాచక రూపములు

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నన్నయలో 'పదియేడు' రూపమే యున్నదని నారాయణరావుగారు.

(h) పదునెనిమిది క. 3-284 ; ద్రో. 4-7 ; శ. 1-348

(i) 19 అను సంఖ్యను తెలుగున దెలియజేయు ప్రయోగము నన్నయలోను నన్నెచోడ పండితారాధ్యులలోను, తిక్కన లోను లేదు.

(j) ఆయా సంఖ్యావాచకములు తెలియజేయు సంఖ్యలు అంకె లలో గూడ నీ క్రింద జూపబడుచున్నవి. ఇవి దప్ప వేఱు రూపములు తిక్కనలో గానరావు.

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22. ఇరువదిరెండవ ఆశ్ర. 2-303

23. ఇరువదిమూఁడు ఆశ్ర. 4-173

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(k) 30. ముప్పది క. 2-175
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(m) 50. ఏఁబది క. 3-202

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(v) 20000. ఇరువదివేవురు శా. 1-241; ద్రో. 5-308

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24320. ఇరువదినాలుగువేలు మున్నూటయిరువండ్రు స్త్రీ. 2-168

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(w) 35000. ముప్పదేనువేలు భీ. 2-182

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(y) 60000. అఱువదివేవురు శ. 2-207; ఉ. 2-150

(z) 80600. ఎనుబదివేలు నాఱునూఱు భీ. 1-27

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108000. లక్షయు నెనిమిదివేలు శా. 5-51

144000. లక్షయు నలువదినాలుగువేలు శా. 5-51

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1000000. వేనవేలు శా. 1-377

'వేనవేలు' అనునది ఆధిక్యమును దెలుపును.
ఈరూపము గమనింప దగినది.

1296000. పండ్రెండులక్షలు తొంబదియాఱువేలు శా. 5-47

1728000. పదియేడులక్షలు నిరువదియెనిమిదివేలు శా. 5-47

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30000000. మూఁడుకోట్లు వి. 4-149; శ. 1-113

100000000. పదికోట్లు శా. 1-239

760020000. డెబ్బదియాఱుకోట్లు నిరువదివేలు స్త్రీ. 2-168

10000000000. కోటివేలు

'ఏసి' అనునది తిక్కనవాడెను. ఇట్టి యర్థమువచ్చుటకై సంఖ్యా వాచకము నాప్రేడిత మొనర్చువిధానమును నిట నున్నది.

పదియేసి శ. 1-191

పది పదిసాయకములు శ. 1-160

'నేసి'—రూపములు తిక్కనలోలేవు

"నూఱు నూఱేసి" (ద్రో. 2-202) అనుచో ద్విరుక్తియును 'ఏసి' యునుగూడ నున్నవి.

'అవ, అవు' రెండునున్నవి 'అగు'కూడ గాన్పించుచున్నది.

తొమ్మిదివేల తొమ్మిది ని. 65; ఎనిమిదివేలు నాఱునూఱు భీ. 1-27 అనురూపములలో,—మొదటిరూపములో (వేల) అకారమును, రెండవరూపములో, (వేలు) ఉకారమును నుండుట జూడనగును. నన్నయ 'ఉ' కారముతో గూడిన రూపములే వాడెనని ఆ. ధా. చ.

XII

"అన్ని, ఇన్ని, ఎన్ని, కొన్ని, పెక్కు, ఎల్ల, పలు"—ఇవి అనియత సంఖ్యను దెలుపును.

అన్ని వి. 5-149 (నామ)
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అనియును శా. 3-119 (శ, ర లో నీ ప్రయోగమున్నది.)
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'అని, కొని' అనునవి గమనింపదగిన రూపములు.

'ఒండెన్' అనునది (ఒండు + ఎన్) ఇదికాని. అదికాని-అను నర్థము నిచ్చుపట్ల వాడబడినది.

ఎన్నివిషయములను గూర్చి చెప్పబడినదో అన్నిమార్లు 'ఒండెన్' అనునది వచ్చునట్లు తిక్కన ప్రయోగములనుబట్టి తెలియుచున్న దని నారాయణరావుగారు (ఆ. భా. చ. పుట. 1197) తెలియజేయుచు "జిష్ణునోర్తు నొండెఁగృష్ణునోర్తు" (క. 2-45) అను పాఠమునకు బదులు "జిష్ణునోర్తు నొండెఁగృష్ణునొండె" అను దానిని గ్రహింపవలెనన్నారు. కాని నారాయణ రావుగారు చూపిన పాఠాంతరము కృతకముగ నున్నది.

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'సగము. సాము; అఱ' — అనునవి ఒకటిలో భాగములు

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कालिदासश्लोकार्थः

कविसिद्धः कालिदासः अन्यैरनादृतेषु आदृतेष्वपि भावेषु भावनां निजां प्रसारयन्नतीव चमत्करोति भावुकानिति विदितमेवैतत् । शाकुन्तले मत्स्योपजीविनः प्राकृतस्य कुम्भीलकस्य मुखाद्विनिस्सार्यते सर्वलोकपूजिता गीतातत्त्वसारभूता वाणी तेन क्रान्तदर्शिना ।[1] अरण्यप्रायेण ग्राममार्गेण गच्छन्तौ नागरिकौ राजदम्पती उपायनहस्तानात्मदर्शनार्थमागतान् सरलस्वान्तान् ग्रामीणान् किं वाभिब्रूतम्? वयं संशयीमहि । कालिदासस्तु तयोरभिजाततामुदारतां चाणुमात्रमलोपयन्नेव वन्यानां मार्गशाखिनां नामधेयानि प्रच्छयति ।[2]

एवं सौन्दर्यवर्णनेष्वपि अन्यैः कविभिरदृष्टोऽनादृतोऽनभिजातमुल्लिखितोऽपि वा भावः चित्रमस्य कवेर्भावनास्पर्शमात्र एव प्रकाशित उन्मीलितोऽभिजातश्च भवति । स्मर्यतां सहृदयैः तारतम्यदर्शनकुतुकिभिः कुमारसम्भवे कालिदासकृतं पार्वत्याः, नैषधीयचरिते श्रीहर्षकृतं दमयन्त्याश्च काञ्चीगुणस्थानवर्णनम् । अतिपेशलः किलायमवसरः; यदीषदुक्ते वस्तु न श्रद्धीयेत; अत्युक्ते चाश्लीलताभानप्रसङ्गः । सतृणाभ्यवहारेण श्रीहर्षेण कृताद्दमयन्तीजघनवर्णनात्[3] बिभ्यति चेत्सहृदयास्ते नात्रापराधिनः । कालिदासस्तु अभिजातया गिरा सहृदयाननुद्वेजयन्नेव पार्वत्यै गिरिशाय वा नापराध्यति ।[4]

अतो न चित्रं यत् कुमारसम्भवे उमाया जङ्घे वर्णनाया विषयीकरोत्ययं कविः । न हि साधारणः कश्चित्कविः श्रद्दध्यात्स्वस्या नायिकाया जङ्घयोः । कवयस्तावत् चरणौ वर्णयन्ति नायिकायाः, ऊरू वा परिणाहिनौ, स्तनौ वा कठिनवर्तुलौ, मुखं वा पद्मचन्द्रनिभं, नयने वा नीलोत्पलप्रतिमे, स्निग्धमसृणकालाम्बुदश्यामलं वा कबरीभरम्; न तु जङ्घे । तत्र पाण्डित्यदृष्टया वर्णयितव्यमेव किमस्ति? अथापि कविसार्वभौमस्यास्य दृष्टिः न जङ्घे अपि न कटाक्षयति । अतोऽस्माकं चास्तीदं निसर्गसुन्दरं काव्यम् —

> वृत्तानुपूर्वे च न चातिदीर्घे जङ्घे शुभे सृष्टवतस्तदीये ।
> शेषाङ्गनिर्माणविधौ विधातुर्लावण्यमुत्पत्तुमिवास यत्नः ।।

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1 सहजं किल यद्विनिन्दितं न खलु तत्कर्म विवर्जनीयम् ।
पशुमारणकर्मदारुणो ऽप्यनुकम्पामृदुरेव श्रोत्रियः ।। (शा. ६. १.)

2 हैयङ्गवीनमादाय घोषवृद्धानुपस्थितान् ।
नामधेयानि पृच्छन्तौ वन्यानां मार्गशाखिनाम् ।। (रघु. १. ४५.)

3 अङ्गेन केनापि विजेतुमस्या गवेष्यते किं चलपत्तृपत्तम् ।
न चेद्विशेषादितरच्छदेभ्यस्तस्यास्तु कम्पस्तु कुतो भयेन ।। (नै. ७. ९१.)

4 एतावता नन्वनुमेयशोभि काञ्चीगुणस्थानमनिन्दितायाः ।
आरोपितं यद् गिरिशेन पश्चादनन्यनारीकमनीयमङ्कम् ।। (कुमार. १. ३७)

अस्य च काव्यस्यैवं तात्पर्यं वर्णयन्ति व्याख्यातारः। निरतिशयसौन्दर्ये पार्वतीजङ्घे सृजन् प्रजापतिः समाहृताया लावण्यसम्पदस्सर्वस्यास्तत्रैव व्ययमकार्षीदिव। ततश्चानन्तरभ्रष्टव्येषु तदङ्गेषु लावण्यमुत्पादयितुं तस्यातिश्रमो बभूवेति च। श्रूयतां तावन्मल्लिनाथेन यदुदितम्—

"उपादानमन्तरेण कार्यस्य दुष्करत्वात् तदङ्गानां च लावण्योपादानकत्वात् पूर्वसम्पादितस्य जङ्घार्थमेव कात्स्न्येन विनियोगात् पुनर्लावण्यसम्पादने यत्नः स्यादेव इत्येतादृक्सौन्दर्ये तज्जङ्घे इति भावः।" इति

प्रकाशिकाविवरणकारो नारायणपण्डितोऽप्येवं वदति—"तदीयाङ्गनिर्माणार्थं सम्पादितेषु लावण्यद्रव्येषु सर्वेष्वपि जङ्घाद्वयनिर्माणकर्मण्येवोपक्षीणेषु पुनर्महता प्रयासेन लावण्यपुञ्जं सम्पाद्य तदनुरूपमवयवान्तरं निर्मितवानिव विधातेत्युत्प्रेक्ष्यत" इति ॥

अमुमेव च तात्पर्यार्थमनुवर्तमाना दृश्यन्तेऽन्येऽपि व्याख्यातारो भाषान्तरीकरणे प्रवृत्ताश्च पण्डिताः। एतद्व्याख्यानुरोधेन लावण्यं नाम किमपि वस्तु किञ्चिदाश्रितम्, तेन पार्वत्या अङ्गानि निर्मितानीति तात्पर्यमुक्तं स्यात्। तत्तु समञ्जसं वा न वेति विचारणीयम्। लावण्यपदार्थः कोवा कविना विवक्ष्यते इत्येव प्रथमं निर्णेतव्यम्। लावण्यं नामैतत् न प्रत्येकाङ्गपरिसमाप्तं सौष्ठवम्; येन शेषाङ्गनिर्माणविधौ तस्योत्पादाय विधातुर्यत्न आस्थेयः स्यात्। न चैतत् किमपि द्रव्यम्; येन पार्वत्या जङ्घयोरुपादानं भवेत्तत् मल्लिनाथोक्तदिशा। यद्यपि काव्यसरण्युचितया लक्षणावृत्त्या लावण्यस्याङ्गोपादनत्वं शक्यकल्पनं, तथाऽपि शेषाङ्गनिर्माणविधौ तदुत्पादितमभूद्विधात्रेति न समञ्जसं घटते। न हि लावण्यपदेन एकत्राङ्गेऽवसिता कान्तिरुच्यते; किन्तु प्रत्येकपरिसमाप्तसौन्दर्याणामङ्गानामन्यूनानतिरेकतया उचितसन्निवेशेऽभिव्यज्यमानः सर्वदृष्टिवेद्यः अनिर्वचनीयः कोऽपि कान्तिविशेषः लावण्यपदार्थः। उचितरचना हि अस्याभिव्यञ्जिका। तथा च सर्वेषामङ्गानां निर्माणक्रियापरिसमाप्त्यनन्तरमेव लावण्यमुपजायेत। एवं च सति कथं नाम निखिलावयवनिर्माणात् पूर्वं जङ्घामात्रनिर्माणपरिसमाप्तावेव तावदनुत्पन्नं अनभिव्यक्तं लावण्यमुपक्षीणतामियात्?

लावण्यं नाम न किमपि प्रत्यङ्गपरिसमाप्तं सौन्दर्यमिति पूर्वोद्दिष्टावेव व्याख्यातारौ मुक्तकण्ठं वदतः। मल्लिनाथस्तावल्लावण्यपदं विवृण्वन्,

"मुक्ताफलेषु छायायास्तरलत्वमिवान्तरा।
प्रतिभाति यदङ्गेषु तल्लावण्यमिहोच्यते॥"

इति भूपालोक्तमुद्धृत्य दर्शयति।

अरुणगिरिनाथमनुसरन् नारायणोऽपि—"लावण्यं हि नामावयवसंस्थानाभिव्यङ्ग्यं निखिलावयवव्यतिरिक्तं किञ्चिदेव तत्त्वान्तरमिति ध्वनिकारः" इति आनन्दवर्धनाचार्याननुस्मरति। परं तु काव्यतात्पर्यनिर्णये एतन्निर्वचनं न यथावदुपयुज्यते ताभ्याम्।

कालिदासः स्वयमपि अङ्गानामुचितसन्निवेशनाभिव्यङ्ग्येऽनिर्वचनीयेऽनुभवैकवेद्ये कान्तिविशेष एव लावण्यपदमुपयुञ्जानो दृश्यते तत्र तत्र। शाकुन्तले तावत्,

"यद्यत् साधु न चित्रे स्यात् क्रियते तत्तदन्यथा।
तथापि तस्या लावण्यं रेखया किञ्चिदन्वितम्॥"

इत्यत्र चित्रगतायाश्शकुन्तलायाः प्रत्यङ्गसौष्ठवं बिम्बभूतायास्साक्षात् शकुन्तलायः अङ्गसौष्ठवमपि कदाचिदतिशयीत, चित्रे पुनःपुनर्मार्जनान्यथाकरणयोस्सुशकत्वात् । तथापि तस्या लावण्यं तत्रोत्पादयितुं दुश्शकमेवेति वदन् कविः लावण्यं प्रत्यङ्गपरिसमाप्तसौन्दर्यात्तत्वान्तरमेवेति सूचयति । कुमारसम्भवेऽपि —

"पुपोष लावण्यमयान् विशेषान् ज्योत्स्नान्तराणीव कलान्तराणि" इत्यत्र पूर्वार्धगत-योपमया "लावण्यमयान् विशेषान् पुपोष" इत्युक्तया च लावण्यस्याभिव्यङ्ग्यत्वं सर्वावयव-वैलक्षण्यं च स्पष्टमेव ध्वनयत्ययम् ।।

एवं स्थिते सति प्रकृतस्य जङ्घावर्णनकाव्यस्यापि तात्पर्यं न व्याख्यातृभिर्वर्णितं भवितु-मर्हतीति प्रतिभाति । अतो वयमेवमस्यार्थं वर्णयामः—

विधाता रुचिराकृतौ अन्यूनानतिरिक्तपरिणाहे उमाया जङ्घे निर्मितवान् । ततश्च यदि निखिलावयवनिर्माणपरिसमाप्तौ लावण्याभिव्यक्तिर्भवित्री तर्हि इतरैरप्यवयवैस्तज्जङ्घोचितैर्भवि-तव्यम् ; यतः प्रत्येकपरिसमाप्तसौष्ठवानामङ्गकानामुचितरचनासन्निवेशेनैव लावण्यमुत्पद्येत । अतः इतरेष्वङ्गेषु येन प्रकारेण सौन्दर्याधाने, तानि अतिसुन्दरयोस्तज्जङ्घयोस्सकाशात् परिभवं नेयुः तथा तानि विधातव्यानि । एवमेव निखिलावयवसौष्ठवव्यतिरिक्तमङ्गिभूतं लावण्यमुत्पद्येत । तत्र चातितरां यत्न आस इव प्रजापतेः ; यतः प्रथमसृष्टयोर्जङ्घयोर्मातृकाभूतं सौष्ठवं न परित्यक्तुं शक्तः स इतराङ्गनिर्माणविधाविति ।

एवं च सति "लावण्यमुत्त्पत्तु" मिति प्रकाशिकाविवरणानुगृहीतः पाठ एव स्वीक्रिय-ताम् । परं तु "शेषाङ्गनिर्माणविधा" वित्यत्र 'निमित्तात्कर्मयोगे वा' इति वार्तिकमनुसृत्य "शेषाङ्गनिर्माणविधेः हेतोः" इति निमित्तार्थे सप्तमी न स्वीकर्तव्या । "लावण्य उत्पाद्य" इति पाठे मल्लिनाथस्येव विषयसप्तम्येवात्राप्यस्तु । शेषाङ्गनिर्माणविधिविषये लावण्यमुत्पादयितुं विधातुः प्रयत्न आस इव इत्यर्थोऽप्यक्लिष्ट एव भवति ।।

औचित्यविचारः*

महाकविना श्रीकालिदासेन विरचितस्य कुमारसम्भवकाव्यस्याष्टमसर्गे शृङ्गाररस-वर्णनस्य विषये औचित्यं किञ्चिदिव चिन्त्यते ।

शृङ्गारो द्विविधः—सम्भोगो विप्रलम्भश्च । प्रकृते शिवपार्वत्योः सम्भोगशृङ्गारो वर्णितः । तथा हि —

नीलकण्ठपरिभुक्तयौवनां तां विलोक्य जननी समाश्वसत् ।
भर्तृवल्लभतया हि मानसीं मातुरस्यति शुचं वधूजनः ।।

वधूजनः मातुर्मानसं शोकं भर्तृप्रीतिपात्रतया क्षिपति । आत्मजासु पतिप्रसाद एव मातृणां हर्षहेतुरिति भावः ।।

वासराणि कतिचित् कथञ्चन स्थाणुना रतमकारि चानया ।
ज्ञातमन्मथरसा शनैश्शनैस्सा मुमोच रतिदुःखशीलताम् ।।

तं यथात्मसदृशं वरं वधूरन्वरज्यत वरस्तथैव ताम् ।
सागरादनपगा हि जाह्नवी सोऽपि तन्मुखरसैकवृत्तिभाक् ।।

इत्यादिषु बहुषु श्लोकेषु सम्भोगशृङ्गारः श्लक्ष्णया पद्धत्या उचितरीत्यैव वर्णितः । परं तु कांश्चन श्लोकानधिकृत्य विचार्यमाणे सर्गेऽस्मिन् सम्भोगशृङ्गारवर्णनमौचित्यभूमिमतिवर्तत इति वक्तव्यं भवति । तथा हि —

नाभिदेशनिहितः सकम्पया शङ्करस्य रुरुधे तया करः ।
तद्दुकूलमथ चाभवत्स्वयं दूरमुच्छ्वसितनीविबन्धनम् ।।

दर्पणे च परिभोगदर्शिनी पृष्ठतः प्रणयिनो निषेदुषः ।
प्रेक्ष्य बिम्बमुपबिम्बमात्मनः कानि कानि न चकार लज्जया ।।

शिष्यतां निधुवनोपदेशिनः शङ्करस्य रहसि प्रपन्नया ।
शिक्षितं युवतिनैपुणं तया यत्तदेव गुरुदक्षिणीकृतम् ।।

ऊरुमूलनखमार्गराजिभिस्तत्क्षणं हृतविलोचनो हरः ।
वाससः प्रशिथिलस्य संयमं कुर्वतीं प्रियतमामवारयत् ।।

इत्याद्यनेकेषु श्लोकेषु सम्भोगशृङ्गारः उच्छृङ्खलं वर्णितः । अतः कालिदासः औचित्य-भूमिमतिक्रम्य सम्भोगशृङ्गारं वर्णयामासेति केषाञ्चिदाशयः । कालिदासो यथा कुमारसम्भवे शिवपार्वत्योर्विषये शृङ्गारं वर्णितवान् न तथा शाकुन्तले मालविकाग्निमित्रे रघुवंशे वा । अतोऽत्यमेव रसवर्णनम् औचित्यभूमिमतिवर्तते । तथा चालंकारिकाणां समयः —

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*१९६२ तमे वर्षे श्रीवेङ्कटेश्वरविश्वविद्यालये प्रचलितायाः कालिदासमीक्षायाः कृते विरचितेषु व्यासेषु प्रथमश्रेण्यां परिगणितोऽयं व्यासः ।

'ऊरुमूलनखमार्ग' इत्यादिश्लोकेषु विपुलतया वर्णितं सम्भोगशृङ्गारमनुचितं मन्दैव मम्मटाचार्यः पित्रोः सुरतवर्णनमिव उत्तमदेवतासु सम्भोगवर्णनमसह्यं भवतीति सर्वथा असङ्गत-मनुचितं चेदमिति सूचयति काव्यप्रकाशे—'रतिहासशोकाद्भुतानि अदिव्योत्तमप्रकृतिवत् दिव्येष्वपि। किंतु रतिः सम्भोगशृङ्गाररूपा उत्तमदेवताविषया न वर्णनीया। तद्वर्णनं हि पित्रोस्सम्भोगवर्णनमिवात्यन्तमनुचित' मिति ।।

'सम्भोगश्चुम्बनालिङ्गनादिरूपः, न त्वन्योन्यावलोकनं; तस्य व्रीडाद्यकारित्वात्। स्पष्टं चानौचित्यं दष्टमुक्तमधरोष्ठमिति श्लोके' इति काव्यप्रकाशव्याख्यायाम्। अतः कविर्यः को वा भवतु सर्वथा एतद्वर्णनमनुचितमिति मम्मटाचार्यस्याशयः ।।

किञ्च, 'ऊरुमूलनखराजी' ति श्लोके, अम्बिकासम्भोगवर्णने पामरनारीसमुचित-निर्लज्जसज्जनखराजिविराजितोरुमूलहृतविलोचनत्वं त्रिलोचनस्य भगवतस्त्रिजगद्गुरोः यदुक्तं तेनानौचित्यमेव परं प्रबन्धार्थः पुष्णाति' इति औचित्यविचारचर्चायां क्षेमेन्द्रोऽपि मम्मटाचार्य-स्याशयमनुकरोति ।।

तदनु 'रतेस्सम्भोगरूपाया मानुषीष्विवोत्तमदेवतासु स्फुटीकृतसकलानुभाववर्णन-मनुचितम्। न च साधारणीकरणादाराध्यत्वज्ञानानुत्पत्तिरिति वाच्यम्। यत्र सहृदयानां रसो-द्बोधः प्रमाणसिद्धः तत्रैव साधारणीकरणस्य कल्पनात्। अन्यथा स्वमातृविषयकस्वपितृरति-वर्णनेऽपि सहृदयस्य रसोद्बोधापत्तेः। जयदेवादिभिस्तु गीतगोविन्दादिषु सकलसहृदयसंमतोऽयं समयो मदोन्मत्तगज इव भिन्न इति न तन्निदर्शनेन इदानीन्तनेन तथा वर्णयितुं साम्प्रत' मिति रसगङ्गाधरे। यद्यपि उत्तमदेवताद्यालम्बनेषु सुरतवर्णनमनुचितमेव, तथापि कालिदासजयदेवादीनां केषाञ्चन प्रबन्धेषु परं सकलसहृदयसंमत एवायं समयः न तन्निदर्शनेन इदानीन्तनैस्तथा वर्णयितुं साम्प्रतम् इति वदन् अनौचित्यपक्षमसहमानो जगन्नाथपण्डितः रसगङ्गाधरे औचित्यसमर्थनं सूचयन् आलङ्कारिकसमयं किञ्चिदिव श्लथयति। किं च कालिदासादिमहाकविषु नैवानौचित्यं चिन्तनीयमिति वदति—'वृद्धास्ते न विचारणीयचरिता' इति।

अथ—'काव्ये यदुत्तमप्रकृते राजादेरुत्तमप्रकृतिभिर्नायिकाभिस्सह ग्राम्यसंभोगवर्णनं तत् पित्रोस्संभोगवर्णनमिव सुतरामसह्यम्। तथैवोत्तमदेवताविषयम्' इति वचनेन आलङ्कारिक-समयमनुसरन्नेव आनन्दवर्धनाचार्यः कालिदासादिकविप्रबन्धेषु परं—'किञ्च द्विविधो हि दोषः। कवेरव्युत्पत्तिकृतः, अशक्तिकृतश्चेति। तत्राव्युत्पत्तिकृतो दोषः शक्तितिरस्कृतत्वात् कदाचिन्न लक्ष्यते। यस्त्वशक्तिकृतो दोषः स झटिति प्रतीयते। तथाहि—

"अव्युत्पत्तिकृतो दोषः शक्तया संत्रियते कवेः।
यस्त्वशक्तिकृतस्तत्र स झटित्यवभासते ।।"

अतो 'महाकवीनामपि उत्तमदेवताविषयप्रसिद्धसंभोगशृङ्गारनिबन्धनाद्यनौचित्यं शक्ति-तिरस्कृतं ग्राम्यत्वेन न प्रतिभासते। यथा कुमारसंभवे देवीसंभोगवर्णनम्' इति वचनैरौचि-त्यमेव समर्थयति ध्वन्यालोके। अमुमेवाशयम् अनुकरोति द्रढयति च लोचनकारोऽपि। एवं राजशेखरादयश्च।

एतेन क्षेमेन्द्रमम्मटार्यौ द्वावेव आलङ्कारिकाणां समयमेव परं प्रमाणं मन्वानौ संभोगशृङ्गारवर्णनम् उत्तमदेवताविषये अनुचितमित्येव स्पष्टं प्रतिपादयतः। पण्डितराज—

आनन्दवर्धनाचार्य – अभिनवगुप्त – राजशेखराः कालिदासादिमहाकवीनां प्रबन्धेषु औचित्य-ममर्यनमेव प्रतिपादयन्ति स्म ।।

काव्यं नाम रसप्रधानम्; यत्र नायिकानायकयोराहार्यज्ञानमेव प्रतीयते । तथा सत्येव तत्र रसोदयो भवति । यदि तत्र देवतात्वबुद्धया वर्णनसङ्कोचः क्रियते तदा रसास्वादानुदयात् काव्य-प्रयोजनस्य लोपो भवति । कालिदासो यथा कुमारसंभवे शिवयोर्विषये शृङ्गारवर्णनमुपनिबबन्ध न तथा शाकुन्तले मालविकाग्निमित्रे रघुवंशे वा । अतः व्यवहारविदा व्युत्पत्तिमता कालिदासेन व्यङ्ग्यमर्यादानुसारमेव कुमारसंभवे तथा रसवर्णनं कृतम् । शाकुन्तलादिषु तु दृश्यकाव्यत्वाद्रस-भङ्गभिया न तथा कृतम् । श्रव्यकाव्ये तु अवश्यं तथा वर्णनीयमित्येव मत्वा कविरेवं वर्णितवान् । अतो नात्रानौचित्यचिन्ता ।।

अनौचित्यास्पदत्वधिया एतत्काव्यं सर्वथा न दूष्यकोटिप्रविष्टम् । यतः अप्पयदी-क्षितादयो लाक्षणिकाः चित्रमीमांसादिषु ध्वनिनिरूपणावसरे एतत्प्रकरणात् श्लोकानुदाहरन्तः ग्रन्थममुं प्रमाणयन्ति । जयदेवादीनां गीतगोविन्दादिषु भक्तिपारवश्येन कालिदाससदृशानामनु-करणमात्रमेवेति न तेष्वप्यनौचित्यशङ्का युज्यते ।।

श्रोतृणां यथा विरस उदेति तथा वर्णनं कालिदासात् पूर्वतनानां भासादीनां कृतिषु यद्यपि नास्ति तथाऽपि वैदिकप्रकरणेषु अश्वमेधादिषु सर्वथा जुगुप्साकरमेव प्रतिपादनं वर्तते; यतः तदात्वे एतादृशं जुगुप्साकरं नाभवत् तत एव तदात्वे अर्धनारीश्वरस्योपासनमपि अङ्गीकृतम् । यथाकथञ्चित् कालिदासादिमहाकवीनां विषये अनौचित्यदोषोद्घाटनं न श्रेयसे; यत उत्तमकवीनां तिरस्करणं आत्मतिरस्करणमेव भवति ।।

अयमाशयः — शृङ्गारो द्विविधः, संयोगो विप्रलम्भश्च । पुनः स्थूलतो द्विविधः योगपूर्वोऽयोगपूर्वश्चेति । 'न विना विप्रलम्भेन शृङ्गारः पुष्टिमश्नुते' इत्यभियुक्ता आमनन्ति । विप्रलम्भेऽपि अयोगविप्रलंभापेक्षया योगपूर्वविप्रलंभे स्वानुभूतिप्रामाण्यमालम्ब्य शृङ्गारः परां काष्ठामधिरोपयितुं पार्यते । शृङ्गारश्चेत् द्रुतः, विप्रलंभः द्रुततरः, योगपूर्वककरुणविप्रलम्भस्तु द्रुततम इति कथने, न किञ्चिदनौचित्यं भासेत । तादृशस्य शृङ्गारस्य वर्णनाय यथा शाकुन्तले षष्ठाङ्के, यथा च विक्रमोर्वशीये चतुर्थाङ्के, यथा च मेघदूते पर्याप्तोऽवकाशः कालिदासेनालम्भि, तथा कुमारसंभवे तादृशवर्णनस्यावकाशो नास्तीति कुमारसंभवकाव्यमनुशीलयतां सहृदयानाम-परोक्षभूतमेव । कुमारसंभवकाव्यस्य रसतुन्दिलत्वमापादयितुमन्ततो गत्वा संभोगशृङ्गार एवाश्रयणीयस्समपद्यत । अतः अष्टमसर्गे शिवयोस्संभोगशृङ्गार एव समवर्णि । सति चैवं प्राचीनैरालङ्कारिकैः परिकल्पितस्य समयस्य समुल्लंघनमनेन अक्रियतेव । समयश्च उत्तमप्रकृत्योः संभोगशृङ्गारवर्णनं पित्रोरिव व्रीडादायि भवेदिति मन्वानैः शास्त्रज्ञैः पर्यकल्प्यत । अपि तु सूक्ष्मेक्षिकया परीक्ष्यमाणे त्रपाकरमसभ्यवर्णनं किमस्मिन् सर्गे कालिदासोऽकृत? अस्य प्रश्नस्य समाधिः 'न' इत्येव वक्तव्यमाभाति । अनन्यक्षुण्णया रसपरीवाहरूपया ललितमधुरया सहृदय-हृदयसमाराधनकुशलया सरण्या शृङ्गारमुपनिबध्नन् कविरयं सर्वजनसमादरणीय एव भवतीति अनुभववतामवक्तव्यमेव ।।

शास्त्रसंप्रदायस्य रेखया समुल्लङ्घनं – तत्रापि रसमये काव्ये – न महते दोषाय, यदि तत्परिपोषायैव कल्पेत न तु लेशतोऽप्युद्वेगाय । उपमादोषानुद्घाटयता दण्डिना 'क्वचित् लिङ्गवचनभेदकृतो दोषः न काव्यस्यापकर्षमादधाति । यदि तत्र निबद्धः अलङ्कारस्तद्विदां

हृदयमावर्जयति न तूद्वेजयति' इति सम्प्रदायसाररहस्यम् उदीरितम् । अमुं विषयं दृष्टान्तीकृत्य यदि वयं परिशीलयेम तदात्वे अत्र कविना कृतं समयातिक्रमणं नोद्वेगदायीति निश्चप्रचं वक्तुं शक्यते ।

वाल्मीकिदिव्यया प्रतिभया साक्षादेव सीतारामयोश्चरितं दृष्ट्वा निबध्नाति स्म । तथा कालिदासेन शिवयोस्संभोगः प्रत्यक्षीकृत्य न रच्यते । अतः अत्रानेन परिकल्पितौ दिव्यदम्पती आहार्यरूपावेव । अतस्तयोः शृङ्गारः साधारणनायिकानायकगतशृङ्गार इव स्वादगोचरो भवति । अमृतह्रदे इव सर्वाङ्गीणसंमोदसन्धायके काव्यरत्नेऽस्मिन् विगाढो हृदयालुः अवशः रसास्वादाय अन्तर्मुखीक्रियमाणोऽकिञ्चित्करं बाह्यं दोषाभासलेशं ज्ञातुमेव न शक्नोति ।।

तथा च कालिदासवदधुनातनैर्न तथाविधं वर्णनं कर्तुमुचितम् । वर्णितं चेन्नूनं ग्राम्यकक्षामेव विगाहेत । तथा चात्र धर्मसूत्राणि —'वेदो धर्ममूलम्, तद्विदां च स्मृतिशीले, दृष्टो धर्मव्यतिक्रमः साहसं च महतां, अवरदौर्बल्यादि'ति । ऋषिकल्पः कालिदासः स्वयमेव —

'मन्दः कवियशःप्रार्थी गमिष्याम्यपहास्यताम् ।
प्रांशुलभ्ये फले लोभादुद्बाहुरिव वामनः ।।'

'बलवदपि शिक्षितानामात्मन्यप्रत्ययं चेतः'
'एको हि दोषो गुणसन्निपाते निमज्जतीन्दोः किरणेष्विवाङ्कः'

इत्यादिरूपेण बहुधा स्वस्य निरहङ्कारतां नम्रतां च विज्ञापयतीति सर्वं तत्कृतं शोभनमेव मन्ये ।

कोसल-प्रचलित धर्म

वैदिक धर्म –

कोसल राज्य के उत्कर्ष काल में वैदिक धर्म का प्रचलन था। धर्म में बहुदेवत था। देवता प्रकृति की शक्तियां थीं। ये देवता पार्थिव, आकाशीय, एवं स्वर्गस्थ थे[1]। आगे चल कर देवताओं की बहुलता बनी रही, तथापि परिवर्तन आरम्भ होने लगा था। प्राचीन सूक्त दुरूह हो चुके थे। ब्राह्मणों का प्रभाव बढ़ रहा था। कर्मकाण्ड जटिल हो रहे थे। यज्ञों की महत्ता बढ रही थी[2]। ब्राह्मण शांति एवं चिंतन की खोज में संलग्न थे[3]। "ब्रह्म" आत्मा के आवागमन, मोक्ष, एवं कर्म के सिद्धान्तों की अभिसृष्टि हुई।

ब्राह्मण साहित्य में याज्ञिक अनुष्ठानों का उल्लेख हुआ है। यज्ञों में अश्वमेध, राजसूय, पुत्रेष्टि, पुरुषमेधि आदि का सम्पादन होता था[4]। युवनाश्व द्वितीय ने सहस्त्र अश्वमेध तथा अन्य यज्ञ सम्पन्न किये थे[5]। उपरान्त उसके पुत्र मान्धाता ने भी यही परम्परा निभाई[6]। अन्यत्र भी उसे यज्ञकर्ता कहा गया है[7]। अन्य यज्ञ कर्ताओं के नाम बाहु[8], सगर[9], दिलीप द्वितीय[10], दशरथ[11] तथा राम[12] हैं। इन याज्ञिक अनुष्ठानों का लक्ष्य धर्म विजय हुआ करता था।

अन्ततोगत्वा प्रकृति के अवयवों का प्रचीन पूजन लुप्त हो गया था। वैदिक देवताओं का धीरे धीरे लोप हो गया। याज्ञिक अनुष्ठानों को हिंसा कह कर उसे हीन दृष्टि से देखा

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1 वैदिक एज, अध्याय १८.

2 सोशल एण्ड रिलीजस लाइफ इन द गृह्यसूत्र पृ० २०३. २०५.

3 मनु स्मृति १. ८८.

4 रिलीजन्स आफ इण्डिया पृ० १६२.

5 महाभारत. ३. १२६. ५-६.

6 वही, १२, २६, ६१, ; ३. १२६. ३७.

7 ऋग्वेद, ४०..१२.

8 वृहन्नारदीय पुराण, ७. ६.

9 वाल्मीकीय रामायण, १. अध्याय ३६; ब्रह्म पुराण ८. ५२ और ६१ वायु० ८८ १४४ और १५८; महाभारत ३. १०७. ११ और १२. २६. १३२.

10 रघुवंश १. ६३.

11 वाल्मीकीय रामायण, २. १००. ८.

12 वही, ७. अध्याय ६८; पदम्० ६. २७१. १३-१४.

जाने लगा[1]। ईसा पूर्व सातवीं एवं छठी शताब्दियों में कोसल में बहुसंख्यक परिव्राजक सम्प्रदायों का जन्म हुआ। धर्म के क्षेत्र में उथल पुथल मच गई। वैदिक कर्मकाण्ड एवं जीव हिंसा के विरुद्ध एक नई विचारधारा का जन्म हुआ, जिससे समाज अत्यन्त प्रभावित हुआ। उपनिषदों के आध्यात्मवाद में निहित तत्व दर्शन का उच्च रूप धूमिल पड़ रहा था। कर्मकाण्ड की जटिलता के स्थान ब्रह्म की उपासना एवं आत्मा परमात्मा के गूढ़ विषयों का चिंतन समाज में जड़ पकड़ रहा था। ब्राह्मण पुरोहितों की वरिष्ठता को इस संक्रान्ति काल में धक्का पंहुचा। उनके दुरूह, कर्मकाण्डपरक एवं व्यवसाध्य यज्ञिक अनुष्ठानों (रक्तिम यज्ञों) के विरुद्ध जन-साधारण की आवाज उठने लगी। ब्राह्मणवाद धूमिल पड़ने लगा। ब्राह्मणों को क्षत्रियों ने स्थानान्तरित किया। क्षत्रिय आध्यात्म चिंतन के क्षेत्र में अग्रसर हुए। यहां तक कि वे तत्व ज्ञान की शिक्षा ब्राह्मणों को देने लगे। जनक, प्रवाहण जैवलि, अजातशत्रु आदि क्षत्रिय शासकों के उदाहरण हमारे सम्मुख हैं। वैदिक साहित्य[2] में उल्लिखित उद्दालक आरुणि नामक विद्वान ब्राह्मण के पुत्र श्वेतकेतु पंचाल के शासक प्रवाहण जैवलि की सभा में अपने ज्ञान की परीक्षा देने गये थे। जैवलि ने उनसे आत्मा एवं परलोक के सम्बन्ध में कुछ प्रश्न किये, जिनका संतोषप्रद उत्तर श्वेतकेतु न दे सके। घर जा कर उन्होंने यह बात अपने पिता से कही। अतः उद्दालक आरुणि स्वयं प्रवाहण जैवलि के यहां गये, और पिता एवं पुत्र ने तत्व ज्ञान की शिक्षा उनसे प्राप्त की। अब शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में ब्राह्मणों का एकाधिकार समाप्त हो चुका था। उनका स्थान क्षत्रिय ले रहे थे[3]।

ब्राह्मण धर्म की स्थिति :—

ब्राह्मण धर्म का मूल वेद था। वैदिक धर्म का केन्द्र ऋषि था। वे लोग सत्य की खोज में अपने शरीर का होम करते थे। देवों से प्रेरणा प्राप्त करके वे ब्रह्मर्षि का पद प्राप्त करते थे[4]। तप को ब्राह्मण पद्धति कहते थे, जिसके अनुसार तपस्वी अपने जीवन के उत्तरार्द्ध को दो आश्रमों (वानप्रस्थ व परिव्राजक) में व्यतीत करते थे[5]। ब्राह्मण धर्म का लक्ष्य सत्य की खोज करना था। जिसमें वे अपने जीवन का अधिकांश लगा देते थे। उनके अनेक धार्मिक सम्प्रदाय थे, जो अपने अपने आचार्यों द्वारा अनुष्ठित मत एवं तप के विभिन्न मार्गों का अनुसरण करते थे[6]। पाणिनि ने भी परिव्राजकों के जीवन व्रतों तथा नियमों का उल्लेख किया है[7]।

1 हार्डी कृत ए मैनुअल आफ बुद्धिज्म. पृ० २८०.

2 बृहदारण्यकोपनिषत्, ६. २. १.
"श्वेतकेतुई वा आरुणेयः पंचालां परिषदमाजगाम।
"सआजगाम जैवलि प्रवाहणं परिचायमाणं ..... ॥"
और देखिये छान्दोग्योपनिषत् ५. ३. १.

3 कावेल जातक, २,२६७ (गार्मणचंड जातक)
'तयो वेदे सब्बं च लोके कत्तब्बं।'

4 हिन्दू सभ्यता पृ० २०६

5 मनु ५।१३७ तथा आपस्तम्य २।६।२१।१

6 हिन्दू सभ्यता पृ० २०६

7 अष्टाध्यायी, ६. १. १५४.

पाराशरी सम्प्रदाय एक महत्वपूर्ण सम्प्रदाय था[1]। बौद्ध साहित्य में भी उनका उल्लेख मिलता है[2]। अतः कहा जा सकता है कि बौद्ध धर्म के पूर्व कोसल में भिक्षु धर्म प्रचलित था। बुद्ध के बहुत से नियम बौधायन में भी उपलब्ध हैं। जैकोबी ने भी यही सिद्ध किया है कि जैन एवं बौद्ध विनय आचार सम्बन्धी नियमों का आधार ब्राह्मणों के आचार सम्बन्धी नियम थे[3]। यद्यपि ब्राह्मण अब भी यज्ञों का संचालन कर रहे थे, तथापि उनमें अब पहले जैसी आस्था न रही थी। बुद्ध के पूर्व अनेक शासक वैदिक कर्मकाण्ड के प्रबल समर्थक एवं संरक्षक रहे थे। अब ब्राह्मणों का कोई विशाल एवं सुसंगठित संगठन न था और न तो उनके कोई मन्दिर ही थे, न पूजागृह ही। प्रायः जनसाधारण देवत्व की भावना मान कर वृक्षों की पूजा करता था[4]। नागपूजा भी प्रचलित थी[5]। इसके अतिरिक्त यक्षों गंधर्वों की पूजा का भी प्रचलन था[6]।

ब्राह्मण धर्म का प्रभाव धीरे धीरे कम पड़ रहा था। ब्राह्मण संस्कृति का मानदण्ड एवं प्रभाव हीनतर हो रहा था। इसका एकमेव कारण था बौद्ध धर्म की लोकप्रियता। ब्राह्मण अपने अपने कार्यक्षेत्र को त्याग कर कृषि कार्य प्रारम्भ कर चुके थे।[7]

पालि साहित्य में कोसल के ब्राह्मणों का उल्लेख मिलता है। ये ब्राह्मण जन वृद्ध, प्रतिभासम्पन्न एवं प्रगतिशील थे[8]। ये महासाल (प्रभावशाली) कहलाते थे[9]। महासाला को वैदिक संस्था माना गया है, जो स्नातकों को उच्च शिक्षा प्रदान करती थी[10]। इससे निष्कर्ष निकलता है कि महासाल लोग केवल समृद्धिशाली एवं प्रभावशाली व्यक्ति ही न थे वरन् वैदिक संस्थाओं (विभागों) के अध्यक्ष थे। ये संस्थायें सावत्थी, तुदियगाम, इच्छानंगल, उकट्ठा, ओयसाद, सालावती एवं मनसाकर में स्थित थीं। कोसलराज पसेनदि ने महासाल

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1 वही ५: ३. ११०.

2 मज्झिम० ३.२६८ 'देसेति, भो गोतम, पारासरियो ब्राह्मणों सावकानं इन्द्रिय-भावनन् इति।'

3 प्राची पु० मा० भूमिका पृ० २२–३० दृष्टव्य हिन्दू सभ्यता पृ० २१०.

4 ज० रा० ए० सो० १,६३० पृ० ३३५ और आगे तथा मेहता कृत प्री बुद्धिस्ट इंडिया पृ० ३२६ टिप्पणी.

5 फूज़ वाल जातक ५, १६४, ७५१.

6 बरुआ और सिन्हा पृ ६७; उत्तराध्ययन सूत्र ३, १४-१५; ५,२४; जातक १,१००.

7 संयुत्त० १,१७१

8 सुत्तनियात, ब्राह्मणधम्मिक सुत्त। "संबहुला कोसलका ब्राह्मण महासाला, जिण्ण बुद्धा महल्लका अद्धगता वयो अनुपत्ता।"

9 परमत्थजोतिका पृ० ३१६। "पहासारताय महासाला, येसं किर निदहित्वा उपितं येव असीति कोटि सकं धनं अत्थि।"

10 दीघ० २,२३६ "सत्त य ब्राह्मन महासाले सत्त च नहातकसतानि मंते वाचेसि"। और देखिये सुमंगल० पृ० ६,६२३.

ब्राह्मणों के नाम उल्लिखित हैं। उदाहरणार्थ चंकि, तारुक्ख, पोक्खरसाति, जालुस्सोणि, तोदेय्य, एवं लोहिच्च[1]।

ये अपने क्षेत्र के स्वामी होते थे। ये लोग अपने क्षेत्र के राजस्व, न्याय एवं दीवानी शासन की देखभाल करते थे। इसके उपलक्ष्य में इन्हें राजकीय अनुदान, धार्मिक वृत्ति एवं दान मिलता था[2]। ये अध्यक्ष अपने समय के प्रसिद्ध विद्वान तथा वेद वेदांग, इतिहास एवं विज्ञान में पारंगत होते थे[3]।

पालि सूत्रों में हमें कतिपय प्रमुख वैदिक विद्वानों के नाम मिलते हैं जो अपने समय के प्रभावशाली विद्वानों में से थे; उदाहरणार्थ पोक्खरसाति के शिष्य अम्बट्ठ[4] एवं वासेट्ठ[5], तारुक्ख[6] के शिष्य सुभ एवं आस्सलायन, आदि। एक एक पहासाल के पास अनेकों शिष्य होते थे[7]।

सावत्थी ब्राह्मणों का प्रमुख केन्द्र था। नालजंघ और संजय आकासगोत्त नामक दोनों ब्राह्मण पसेनदि के राजवंश से संबन्धित थे। जटिलों का नेता बावरी महाकोशल और पसेनदि का पुरोहित था। सावत्थी नगर में कोसलराज के तत्वाधान में अनेकों याज्ञिक अनुष्ठान सम्पन्न हुआ करते थे[8]। नगर में वैदिक संस्थाएं भी थीं जिनका उल्लेख ऊपर हो चुका है। उनके अध्यक्ष त्रैविद्य एवं वैदिक सहित्य विशारद हुआ करते थे।

नवजागरण:—

वैदिक काल के समाप्त होने और बौद्ध धर्म के उदय होने के बीच में पर्याप्त समय का अन्तर है। इस बीच में प्राचीन देवता एवं लोगों के विश्वास बदल चुके थे। इस बीच अनेकों नवीन देवता जागरूक जीवन में आये होंगे और उनका व्यापक प्रभाव रहा होगा। वैदिक युग के उपरान्त निरन्तर प्रगति होती रही। नवीन स्वतंत्र विचार, शील एवं विवेक का उदय हुआ। इसके परिणाम स्वरूप प्राचीन रीतियां, जादू टोने समाप्त हो चुके थे। ब्राह्मणों की धार्मिक आस्थायें, धारणायें एवं सिद्धान्त व्यवहार में आकर धीरे धीरे परिष्कृत हो कर नैतिकता के रूप में परिणत हो रहे थे। ज्यों ज्यों हम बौद्ध काल के निकट आते गये त्यों त्यों आत्म यंत्रणा के महत्व को बढ़ता हुआ पाते गये[10]।

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1 दीघ० १, २२४, २३५ और सुमंगल० २,३९९.
2 दीघ० १,२४९
3 दीघ० १, ८८ ओर दे० सुमंगल० १,२४७–२४८.
4 दीघ० १,८७, ८८.
5 दीघ० १,२३५ और दे० सुत्तनिपात पृ० ११७.
6 दीघ१ १,२३५.
7 मज्झिम० २,१९६; ३,२०२.
8 दीघ० १,८९, सुमंगल० १,२५१ 'मनवका ति पोकावरसादिस्स' एव अन्तेवासिका।"
9 संयुत्त० १, ७६.
10 बुद्धिस्ट इंडिया पृ० २३८ और आगे.

इसके फलस्वरूप वैदिक धर्म विरोधी आन्दोलन की एक लहर उठी। लोगों का ध्यान दर्शन की ओर गया। लोगों को यह विश्वास हो गया कि केवल वेद पाठ से ही आत्मज्ञान नहीं हो सकता। यज्ञों का महत्व घट गया था; शील एवं तप का महत्व बढ़ रहा था। वैदिक बलि की ओर से ध्यान हट कर ज्ञान एवं अनुभूति की ओर गया[1]।

बौद्धेतर भिक्षु सम्प्रदाय:—

बौद्ध एवं जैन सम्प्रदायों की भांति कोसल राज्य में विचरण करने वाले अनेक परिव्राजकों के पृथक पृथक संघ थे। उनके दार्शनिक मतों में सूक्ष्म भेद थे। संस्थापित संघों के रूप में उनका सामुदायिक अस्तित्व न था। ब्रह्मजाल सूत्र में बौद्ध धर्म के उदय के पूर्व श्रमणों एवं ब्राह्मणों के बहसठ दार्शनिकों मतों या दिट्ठियों का उल्लेख है। जैन साहित्य[2] में उनकी संख्या ३६३ है। बौद्ध साहित्य[3] में भी उनके नामों की सूची उपलब्ध है।

विभिन्न मतों के भिक्षुओं का नाम समण–ब्राह्मण था। ये तत्कालीन धार्मिक जीवन के नेता थे[4]। बौद्ध साहित्य[5] में दो प्रकार के परिव्राजकों का उल्लेख है; एक ब्राह्मण और दूसरे अउलतित्थिय अर्थात् बुद्धेतर भिक्षु। उनके छः प्रधान आचार्य थे। पूरण कस्सय, मंखलि गोसाल, अजित केस कम्बलि, ककुध, कच्चायन, निगंठ नातपुत्त एवं संजय वेलट्ठपुत्त ये सभी आयु मे बुद्ध से बड़े थे[6]।

इन बौद्धेतर समणों के अतिरिक्त पालि साहित्य में अन्य आचार्यों का उल्लेख हुआ है जिनके अपने अपने पृथक शिष्य एवं अनुयायी थे। बावरी की गणना प्रधान आचार्यों में होती है। वह ब्राह्मण था। अस्सक क्षेत्र में गोदावरी के तट पर निवास करता था[7]। उसके सोलह शिष्य यथा सोलह हजार प्रशिष्य थे। ये सब तत्कालीन सांस्कृतिक केन्द्रों उदाहरणार्थ अलक, पतिट्ठान, माहिसति, उज्जैनी, गोनद्ध, वेदिसावनसावह्य (वनसावत्थी), कौसाम्बी, साकेत, सावत्थी, सेतव्या, कपिलवत्थु, कुसिनारा, पावा, भोग नगर, वेसाली आदि में भ्रमण करते थे[8]। इनके अतिरिक्त सेल नामक एक आचार्य थे, जिनके ३०० शिष्य थे। चंकि, तारुक्ख, भारद्वाज पोक्खरसाति, वासेट्ठ, जानुस्सोणि एवं तोदेय्य आदि वेदों एवं

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1 बरुआ, पृ १६३–४.

2 सूत्र कृतांग, २।२।७६ दृष्टव्य 'हिन्दू सभ्यता' पृ० २११ और देखिये टिप्पणी भी' टीकाकारों के अनुसार इन ३६३ मतों में १८० क्रियावादी, ८४ अक्रियावादी, ६७ अज्ञानिकवादी और ३२ वैनयिकवादी थे।'

3 अंगुत्तर०–आजीविक, निगंठ मुंडसावक, जटिलक, परिव्राजक, मगण्डिक, तेदण्डिक, अविस ४ क, गोतमक, देवधम्मिका.

4 डायलाग्स, २,१६५.

5 अंगुत्तर० ५,३२.

6 संयुत० १,६६.

7 मलालशेखर, २,२७६.

8 वही.

सम्बन्धित विषयों के पण्डित थे[1]। पालि साहित्य में वासेट्ठ, के कई ब्राह्मण सम्प्रदाय यजुर्वेद के अध्वर्य एवं तैतरीय नामक चरण, सामवेद का छान्दोग्य नामक चरण तथा ऋग्वेद के बह्वृच चरण का उल्लेख हुआ है। पोट्ठपाद नामक ब्राह्मण अपने तीन सौ शिष्यों सहित मल्लिकाराम में निवास करता था। उससे बुद्धकी भेंट हुई थी[2]। समण मण्डिक का पुत्र उग्गा हमानों भी मल्लिकाराम निवास करता था। यहीं उससे सावत्थी के स्थयति पंच कंग ने बुद्ध के दर्शन के हेतु जाते हुए मार्ग में भेंट की थी। बुद्ध ने उसके उपदेश का खण्डन किया था[3]।

बौद्ध धर्म —

बुद्ध धर्म के प्रचार एवं प्रसार में कोसल राज्य का विशेष महत्व रहा है। कोसल की तत्कालीन राजधानी सावत्थी बौद्ध धर्म प्रचार की प्रधान केन्द्र थी। बुद्ध ने बुद्धत्व प्राप्त कर पैंतालीस वर्ष तक धर्म प्रचार किया। प्रति वर्ष वर्षा के तीन मास वह किसी एक स्थान पर व्यतीत करते थे। बुद्ध ने अपने पैंतालीस वर्षा–वासों में से पच्चीस सावत्थी में व्यतीत किये[4]। वुडवर्ड के अनुसार[5] चार निकायों में ८७१ सुत्तों का पाठ यहीं हुआ, जिनमें ८४४ का जेतवन और २३ का पुब्बाराम तथा चार का निकटस्थ गांवों में हुआ। इन सुत्तों का निर्माण ६ दीघ, ७५ मज्झिम, ७३६ संयुत और ५४ अंगुत्तर सुत्तों को मिला कर हुआ है। इसके अतिरिक्त अधिकांश पतिमोक्ख नियमों का सूत्रीकरण कोसल में ही हुआ[6]।

बौद्ध धर्म के विकास के समय कोसल में ब्राह्मणों का प्रभाव था किन्तु बुद्ध को अपने धर्म के प्रचार मे अधिक कठिनाई न उठानी पड़ी[7]। बुद्ध ने बौद्ध धर्म के प्रसार का प्रथम सफल प्रयास बनारस में किया। प्रथम बौद्ध प्रचारकों के दल में (पंचवग्गीय भिक्षु) पांचव्यक्ति-कपिलवत्थु के थे। ये लोग ब्राह्मण थे किन्तु बुद्ध ने उन्हें बौद्ध बना लिया था[8]। दूसरा प्रयास बुद्ध ने राजगृह में किया था। जहां उन्होने कुछ शाक्यों को बौद्ध बना कर दीक्षित किया था। तीसरा एवं सर्वाधिक महत्वपूर्ण प्रयास था अनाथपिण्डिक के आग्रह पर सावत्थी में आगमन। आगे चल कर सावत्थी बौद्ध धर्म का केन्द्र बन गई और फिर सम्पूर्ण राज्य में बौद्ध धर्म का प्रचार हो गया।

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1 सुत्तनिपात, ५९४.

2 दीघं० १,१८७.

3 मज्झिम० २,२२–५

4 अंगुत्तर० अट्ठकथा, (हेवावितारणी) पृ० ३१४.
अट्ठकथा के अनुसार चौदहवां तथा ईवकीसवें से चौतालीसवें तक के वर्षा वास बुद्ध ने यहीं बिस बिताये.

5 किंड्रेड सेइंग्ज़ ५,१८.

6 विनय० ५,१४४–५.

7 मज्झिम० २,१२४; चुल्लवग्ग १२. २,३. दे० दत्त, नलिनाक्ष.

8 महावस्तु, ३. पृ० ४२०; सांग्स आफ दि ब्रदरेन, पृ० २८४ और दे० हार्डी कृत मैनुअल आफ बुद्धिज्म पृ० १८८ और एस० बी० ई० १७. पृ० १४६.

यद्यपि सावत्थी में अनाथपिण्डिक द्वारा बौद्ध धर्म का सूत्रपात् हुआ तथापि इस नये धर्म के विरुद्ध अन्य सम्प्रदाय वालों का विशेष विरोध रहा। बुद्ध ने सारिपुत्त जेतवद विहार के निर्माण के लिये सावत्थी भेजा। इस प्रकार सम्पूर्ण जेतवन निर्माण कार्य उन्हीं के निरीक्षण में हुआ। किन्तु सारिपुत्त ने अपने तत्व ज्ञान से उन्हें अपने धम्म (बौद्ध धर्म) के विषय में सहमत कर लिया[1]। अनाथापिण्डिक द्वारा जेतवन विहार के दान का समारोह बड़े ही विशाल रूप से मनाया गया। असंख्य व्यक्तियों ने इसमें भाग लिया। बुद्ध ने इसी स्थान को अपने 'धम्म' प्रचार का केन्द्र बनाया। बुद्ध ने अपने उन्नीस बस्सावास यहीं व्यतीत किये[2]।

सावत्थी में बौद्ध मत का सूत्रपात् हो जाने के उपरान्त उसको विरोधी तत्वों से सामना करना पड़ा। इस समय अन्य मत के लोग ब्राह्मण धर्म का विरोध कर ही रहे थे। फिर भी उन्होंने बुद्ध का विरोध किया। इनके नेता थे पूरण कस्सप, मक्खलि गोसाल, निगंठ नात पुत्त, संजय वेलट्ठिपुत्त, पकुठ कच्चायन तथा अजित कोसकवली। ये सब सावत्थी में ही विद्यमान थे। कोसल राज पसेनदि इन सब गुरुओं का भक्त था। गौतम इन सब के मुकाबले में छोटे थे और अभी प्रवज्जित हुए थे[3]। अतः पसेनदि इन्ही छः आचार्यो के पक्ष में था। ये आचार्य लोग बुद्ध को कोई भी अधिकार देने के पक्ष में न थे। उनके अनुसार बुद्ध की शिक्षाओं में कोई नवीनता नहीं वरन् उन्ही की शिक्षाओं का सार है[4]। उन्होंने बुद्ध को कोसल से निकाल देने का एक सामूहिक प्रयास किया। इसके लिये उन्होंने राजा पसेनदि से चमत्कारिक शक्तियों की प्रतियोगिता के प्रदर्शन के लिये आग्रह किया। प्रतियोगिता सम्पन्न हुई। बुद्ध द्वारा अभूतपूर्व चमत्कारों का प्रदर्शन हुआ[5]। बुद्ध ने सभी प्रतिद्वन्दियों को परास्त किया। अतः सभी दर्शकों के समक्ष बुद्ध की धाक जम गई[6]। बुद्ध के अनुयायी बढ़ने लगे। उनकी समझ में आ गया था कि बुद्ध न केवल एक उत्कृष्ट विचारक ही थे वरन् एक सिद्ध योगी थे। जब उन छः आचार्यो का प्रभाव फीका पड़ गया तब उन्होने बुद्ध पर चारित्रिक दोष लगा कर उन्हें नीचा दिखाना चाहा[7]। किन्तु बुद्ध ने उन मिथ्यारोपणों को निराधार सिद्ध किया। बुद्ध ने अपने अनुयायियों को धैर्य रखने को कहा और धीरे धीरे अपने सिद्धान्तों का प्रचार किया[8]।

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1 वाटर्स, युवानच्वांग १,३८४, ३९४.

2 धम्मपदट्ठकथा १,३; बुद्धवंस टीका ३; मनोरत्थ पूरणी अंगुत्तर टीका १, ३१४.

3 मज्झिम० १,२०५, ४००, ४२६.

4 वही १, ८४.

5 मलालशेखर १,७४२; २,६८२.

6 ला, बी० सी० इण्डियाएज डिस्काइव्ड इन अर्ली टेक्स्ट्स आफ बुद्धिज्म एण्ड जैनिज्म पृ० २३३.

7 दे० धम्मपदट्ठकथा ३,१७८; जातक ४,१८७; इतिउत्थक टीका (पा० टे० सो०) ६९ और दे० उदान टीका, २५६, धम्मपदट्ठकथा ३,४७५; सुत्तनिपात टीका २, ५२८; जातक २, ५१४.

8 मज्झिम निकाय १,६४ और आगे.

बुद्ध तथा कोसल के ब्राह्मण —

पालि साहित्य में ब्राह्मण ग्रामों का उल्लेख हुआ है, जो कोसल के अन्तर्गत आते थे। इनमें एक साला, इच्छानंगल, नगरविंद, मनसाकट, वे नागपुर, दण्डक्कप तथा वेलद्वार ग्रामों का विशेष महत्व है।

एक साला —

बुद्ध यहां एक बार ठहरे थे। जब उनका प्रभाव बहुत बढ़ गया तो असंख्य संख्या में लोग प्रवचन सुनने के लिये आने लगे। अतः मार ने बुद्ध को प्रवचन देने को मना किया। बुद्ध ने उसका विरोध कर उसे परास्त किया था।[1]

इच्छानंगल —

यहां बद्ध ने अम्बट्ठ सुत्त का पाठ किया था।[2] यह महासाल ब्राह्मणों का निवास स्थान था। यहां के ब्राह्मणों में चंकि, तारुक्ख, पोक्खरसाति, जानुस्सोणि तथा तोदेय्य प्रमुख हैं।[3] वासेट्ठ और भारद्वाज शास्त्रार्थ में जब किसी निष्कर्ष पर नहीं पंहुंच सके तब वे दोनों इच्छानंगल में ठहरे बुद्ध के पास आये। बुद्ध से उनसे जो वार्ता हुई वह वासेट्ठ सुत्त में उल्लिखत है।[4] कोसल के ब्राह्मण वेदों में पारंगत थे।[5] वे यदाकदा वादविवाद के लिये इच्छानंगल में एकत्रित हुआ करते थे।[6]

नगरविंद —

कोसल राज्य में स्थित ब्राह्मण ग्राम था। अपनी परिचर्या करते समय एक बार बुद्ध यहां ठहरे थे। तभी नगर विंदेय्य सुत्त का पाठ किया था।[7]

वेनागपुर —

यहां बुद्ध ने वेनाग सुत्त का पताह्य प्रवचन किया था।[8] यहां के निवासियों ने बुद्ध को पूर्ण रूप से अपना गुरू मान लिया था।

दंडकप्प —

कोसल में भ्रमण करते बुद्ध यहां पधारे थे। यहीं पर आनंद ने बुद्ध से प्रश्न किया था कि वह देवदत्तक की वाचालता को कैसे समझ जाते हैं।[9] बुद्ध ने यहां पर उदान सुत्त का पाठ किया था।

1 संयुत० १, १११.
2 दीघ० १, ८७.
3 सुत्त० ११५.
4 वही तथा मज्झिम० २, १४६.
5 सुत० टीका २, ४६२.
6 पपंच० सू० म० टीका २,७९६.
7 मज्झिम० ३,२९०.
8 अंगुत्तर० १,१८०.
9 अंगुत्तर ३,४०२.

वेलुद्वार —

यहां भी बुद्ध एक बार ठहरे थे और वेलुद्वारेय्य सुत्त का पाठ किया था।[1] ऐसी अनुश्रुति है कि स्थान के द्वार पर वेलु का जंगल था, इसलिए इसका यह नाम पड़ा।[2]

इन ग्रामों के अतिरिक्त कुछ ग्राम ऐसे थे, जिन्हें राजा पसेनदि ने विशिष्ट ब्राह्मण गुरुओं (जिसमें एकक्षत्रिय था) को दे रखा था। सम्भवतः ये ग्राम गुरुकुलों के व्यय के लिये थे। पालि साहित्य में इनके नाम उल्लिखत हैं।

उकट्ठा —

यह ग्राम कोसल राज्य के अन्तर्गत हिमालय के निकट स्थित था। पोक्खरसाति की योग्यता से प्रभावित हो कर कोसलराज ने यह ग्राम उनको प्रदान कर कर मुक्त कर दिया था। यहां जनसंख्या का आधिक्य था। यहां की भूमि में घास लकड़ी और अन्न बहुत उत्पन्न होता था।[3] इच्छानंगल भी इसके निकट था। जब बुद्ध इच्छानंगल के वन में ठहरे हुए थे पोक्खरसाति ने अपने एक छात्र अम्बट्ठ को भेजा और फिर स्वयं बुद्ध से मिलने के लिए गए थे।[4] एक सड़क है जो उकट्ठा को सेतव्या[5] और वेसलि[6] से मिलाती है।

ओपसाद —

यह चंकी का निवासस्थान था। इस ग्राम को पसेनदि ने चंकी को भूसंपदा के रूप में दिया था। ग्राम के उत्तर की ओर साल वृक्षों का वन था। जहां विभिन्न भूतियों को आहुति दी जाती थी। परिचर्या करते समय बुद्ध यहां पधारे थे।[7]

सालवती —

इसका नाम सालवतिका भी था। इसे पसेनदि ने लोहिक्क ब्राह्मण को प्रदान किया था। यहां लोहिक्क सुत्त का पाठ हुआ था।[8] इस क्षेत्र की सीमा के अन्तर्गत साल वृक्ष उगे हुए थे। इसीलिये इसका यह नाम पड़ा।[9]

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1 संयुत्त० ५,३५२.
2 सारत्थ० सं० टीका ३,२१७.
3 दीघ० १,८७; सुमंगल० १,२४५.
4 वही.
5 अंगुत्तर० २, ३७.
6 फ़ूजबाल जातक २,२५६.
7 मज्झिम० २,१६४.
8 दीघ० १,२२४.
9 सुमंगल० २,३६५.

सेतव्या —

सेतव्या कोसल राज्य का प्रमुख नगर था[1]। इसके निकट ही उकट्ठा था। निकायों में[2] बुद्ध तथा ब्राह्मण द्रोण की वार्तालाप उल्लिखित है। इन दोनों की भेंट उकट्ठ से सेतव्या जाने वाले मार्ग में हुई थी। सेतव्या सावत्थी से राजगृह जाने वाले मार्ग पर स्थित था। सावत्थी से चलने पर पहला पड़ाव सेतव्या ही था। यह कुमारकस्सप का निवास स्थान था। इसी ने पायासि ब्राह्मण को पायासि सुत्त का पाठ किया था। यह ग्राम राजा की ओर से भूसंपदा के रूप में दिया गया था[3]।

ब्राह्मण आचार्यों एवं० तार्किकों के अतिरिक्त अनेक गृहस्थ ब्राह्मण भी बुद्ध का प्रवचन सुनने जाया करते थे। इनमें से अधिकांश ब्राह्मण बुद्ध के उपासक एवं अनुचर हो गये। पालि साहित्य[4] में कोसल के अनेक गृहस्थ ब्राह्मण बुद्ध के पास अपनी शंकायें लेकर आते थे और बौद्ध धर्म में दीक्षित हो कर लौटते थे। इनमें निम्नांकित को अर्हत पद प्राप्त हुआ अहिंसक भारद्वाज, अग्गिय भारद्वाज, सुन्दरीक भारद्वाज, बहुचीक भारद्वाज आदि। उपासक होने वालों के नाम ये हैं–उदय, देवहित, लुखया पूरण, मनत्थद्ध, पंचनीक सात, नाव कम्भिक भारद्वाज, कट्ठहार, मातुपोसक, भिक्खक, संगरव, वेरहच्चानि ब्राह्मणी, खोमदुस्सक ब्राह्मण गहपतिका।

ब्राह्मणों की अनेक सभाओं में बुद्ध का विरोध हुआ था। और उन्हें मुंडये समण कह कर पुकारा गया था[5]। किन्तु बुद्ध पर इसका कोई प्रभाव न पड़ा और वे अपने धर्म प्रचार मे व्यस्त रहे। कुछ ब्राह्मण ऐसे थे जो जन्म से ब्राह्मण की श्रेष्ठता का दावा करते थे। किन्तु बुद्ध ने इसका विरोध किया और कहा कि जन्म से न कोई ब्राह्मण है और न अब्राह्मण। केवल कर्म से ही कोई ब्राह्मण या अब्राह्मण होता है। तप, ब्रह्मचर्य, संयम आदि के द्वारा ही मनुष्य उत्तम ब्राह्मण बन सकता है[6]।

कोसल के ब्राह्मण अपने धर्म के पक्के एवं सत्यता के प्रेमी थे। बुद्ध ने उन्हें सत्य की खोज के द्वारा अपनी शक्ति का आभास कराया था और अपनी ओर आकृष्ट किया था। बुद्ध ने उन्हें समझाया कि जिस धर्म का अनुसरण वे लोग कर रहे हैं वह वास्तविक धर्म नहीं है। तथा उनके विश्वास एवं याज्ञिक कर्मो में सत्यता नहीं है। बुद्ध ने अपने चमत्कारिक व्यक्तित्व से प्रभावित कर तथा प्रभावशाली दर्शन का प्रवचन कर उन्हें धम्म एवं संघ में प्रवज्जित किया एवं भिक्षु बना लिया। इनमें प्रभावशाली एवं धनी ब्राह्मण थे जानुस्सोणि, अग्गिक भारद्वाज तथा धनंजनि। ये लोग आजन्म के लिये बुद्ध धम्म एवं संघ के उपासक हो गये।

1 दीघ० २,३१६.
2 अंगुत्तर० २,३७.
3 दीघ० २,३१६.
4 संयुत्त० १,१६५.
5 वही १,१६७, १८४; सुत्त निपात पृ० ७९.
6 सुत्त० पृ० ११५.

जानुस्साणि —

यह महासाल ब्राह्मण था[1]। ये इच्छानंगल[2] तथा मनसाकट[3] परहोते रहते ब्रह्म सम्मेलनों में भाग लिया करते थे। वह बुद्ध के अनुगामी एवं प्रशंसक थे। बुद्ध ने एक बार उन्हें भयभेरव सुत्त का पाठ[4] सुनाया था। उनका स्थाई निवासस्थान सावत्थी था[5]। बहुधा वे बुद्ध के पास परामर्श के लिये जेतवन आया करते थे[6]। जाणुस्सोणि श्वेत सज्जा एवं रश्मियों वाली चार श्वेत वामियों द्वारा खींचे जाने वाले श्वेत रथ पर आसन ग्रहण करते थे। इसके ऊपर एक श्वेत छत्र भी लगा रहता था। यह रथ सावत्थी में सबसे अच्छा था[7]। वह स्वयं श्वेत वस्त्र एवं पदत्राण धारण करते थे। उन पर श्वेत चंवर डुलाया जाता था। इस वेश में वह श्वेत रथ पर आसीन ब्रह्मा के सदृश लगते थे[8]।

अग्गिक भारद्वाज —

ये भारद्वाज गोत्री ब्राह्मण सावत्थी का निवासी था। एक बार जब बुद्ध भिक्षाटन के हेतु जा रहे थे, मार्ग में अग्गिक भारद्वाज को यज्ञ कुण्ड में आहुति देते देखा। अग्गिक ने बुद्ध को देख कर कहा 'अरे मुण्डिये, पिक्षु, वृषल, वहीं खड़ा रह।' बुद्ध ने शान्त भाव से कहा, क्या तुम वसलक का अर्थ जानते हो? फिर वह स्वयं बोले कि 'वसलक' वह दुष्ट मनुष्य है जो धर्म एवं सदाचार के नियमों का पालन नहीं करता। मेरे जैसा साधु 'वसलक' नहीं होता[9]।

शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में ये ब्राह्मण इतने आगे बढ़ चुके थे, कि बुद्ध को उन्हें अपने धर्म में प्रवज्जित करने में बड़ी कठिनाई का सामना करना पड़ा। उन्होने पहले बुद्ध को एवं उनके सिद्धान्तों को परख एवं समझ लिया और देखा कि बुद्ध का धर्म प्रचार कार्य कोसल में धीरे धीरे बढ़ता ही जा रहा है, तब उन्होने भी बुद्ध के धर्म को ग्रहण कर लिया। कोसल के ऐसे विद्वान ब्राह्मणों के देश में बुद्ध की सफलता बहुत बड़ी सफलता थी। बुद्ध ने सर्वप्रथम उन ब्राह्मणों को प्रभावित किया जो ससाज में सम्मान की दृष्टि से देखे जाते थे। और जिन्हें राजा की ओर से अनुदान मिला हुआ था। ये लोग अपने समय के बहुत बड़े शिक्षक (महासाल) थे। इनमें प्रमुख थे पोक्खस्सादि, लोहिक्क तथा चंकि।

1 वही.

2 मज्झिम० २, १९६.

3 दीघ० १, २३५.

4 मज्झिम० १,१६–१७.

5 सुमंगल० २,३९९.

6 अंगुत्तर० १,५६,१५७,१६६,२,१७३; ३,३६२; ४,५४; ५,२३३–२३४,२४९–५०, २६९–७० तथा संयुत्त० २,७६.

7 संयुत्त० ५, ४–५; मज्झिम० १,१७४; २,२०८.

8 मज्झिम० १,१७६; संयुत्त० ५,४.

9 सुत्त० पृ० २१–२५; सुत्त० टीका १,१७४–१७५.

कोसल में बुद्ध की ख्याति इतनी फैल चुकी थी कि बावरी अपने १६ अनुयायियों सहित गोदावरी के तट से बुद्ध के संघ में सम्मिलित हो ने के लिये आ पंहुंचा[1]। इन मड़े बड़े प्रभावशाली धनी मानी व्यक्तियों का बौद्ध धर्म ग्रहण करने का इतना प्रभाव पड़ा कि जनसाधारण में बौद्ध धर्म तीव्रता के साथ व्याप्त हो गया। इसके परिणाम स्वरूप ब्राह्मण धर्म को बड़ी क्षति उठानी पड़ी।

बुद्ध तथा कोसल के परिव्बाजक —

कोसल राज में बहुत से परिव्बांजकाराम थे[2]। इनमें सावत्थी[3] में स्थित मल्लिकाराम सबसे प्रसिद्ध था। इन्हीं आरामों में बुद्ध तथा उनके अनुचर[4] प्रायः ठहरा करते थे। बहुधा परिव्बाजक लोग बुद्ध के पास धर्म सम्बन्धी शंकायें लेकर आया करते थे। ये परिव्बाजकाराम इसप्रकार विचार विनिमय के साधन थे। परिव्बाजकों में से वेखनस्स एवं पोट्ठापाद बुद्ध के मतानुयायी थे।

वेखनस्स परिव्बाजक था और सकुलदायी[5] का गुरु था। यह ब्राह्मण परिव्बाजक संघ की नीव डालने वाला था। वेखनस्स ने बुद्ध से जेतवन में भेंट कर परिपूर्णता (सिद्धि) के विषय में चर्चा चलाई थी। बुद्ध ने वेखनस्स की परिपूर्णता की परिभाषा को केवल आनंद का परिष्कार माना है। बुद्ध का कथन था कि परिपूर्णता का वास्तविक अर्थ केवल अर्हत ही समझ सकता है। इस पर वेखनस्स क्रुद्ध हो गया किन्तु उपरान्त बुद्ध ने उसे शान्त कर अपना अनुचर बना लिया[6]। दूसरा परिव्बाजक पोट्ठपाद था। पोट्ठपाद और बुद्ध से आत्मा एवं समाधि को लेकर मल्लिकाराम (सावत्थी में वादविवाद हुआ था। यह वार्तालाप पोट्ठपाद सुत्त में उद्धृत है। उपरान्त दोनों में आत्मा और व्यक्तित्व पर विवाद होता रहा। अन्ततः वह बुद्ध का अनुयायी हो गया[7]। महाउम्मग्ग जातक में उसकी पहिचान पक्कुस से की गयी है[8]।

बुद्ध तथा पसेनदि —

बुद्ध के साधु जीवन का अधिकांश जेतवनाराम (सावत्थी) में ही व्यतीत हुआ। अतिथि रूप यहां कई बार ठहरने के अतिरिक्त इक्कीस वस्सावास व्यतीत किये। पालि साहित्य से पता चलता है कि पहले पसेनदि ब्राह्मण धर्म का अनुयायी था, बावरी उसका प्रथम पुरोहित था। पसेनदि ने अनेकों यज्ञ सम्पन्न किये थे[9]। किन्तु बुद्ध के सम्पर्क में आकर उनके

1 सु० टीका पृ० ६०३–६०४, ५७५–५७६.
2 अंगुत्तर० ४,३७८; ५,४८ "अज्जातित्थिमानं परिव्बाजकानं आराम।"
3 मज्झिम० २, २२ "समयप्पवदको तिन्दुकाचिरो एकसालको मल्लिकाय आरामो।"
4 वही, २, २३.
5 प्रपंचसूदनीमज्झिम टीका, २, ७१६.
6 मज्झिम० २, ४०.
7 दीघ० १, १७८–२०३.
8 फ़ूजबाल जातक ६, ४७८.
9 संयुत्त० १,७५–६; सुत्त० १९२.

व्यक्तित्व से प्रभावित हो कर वह बौद्ध हो गया था। पसेनदि की रानी मल्लिका और दो बहनें सोमा व सकुला बुद्ध की अनुयायी थीं। इनके प्रभाव से भी उनकी बुद्ध धर्म के प्रति आस्था बढ़ रही थी। अन्ततोगत्वा उसने अपने को बुद्ध एवं संघ का अनुयायी घोषित कर दिया था[1]। कोसल राज्य के धार्मिक इतिहास में बुद्ध का विशेष भाग रहा है[2]।

बौद्ध धर्म प्रचार की प्रारम्भिक अवस्था में हीपसेनदि बुद्ध के अभिन्न मित्र तथा तथा अनुयायी हो गये थे[3]। और बुद्ध के प्रति उनकी श्रद्धा अन्त तक बनी रही। तिब्बती सूत्र के अनुसार बुद्ध के धर्मप्रचार के दूसरे ही वर्ष पसेनदि ने बौद्ध धर्म में प्रवेश किया। बौद्ध सूत्र[4] के अनुसार जब दोनों युवक ही थे तभी दोनों की भेंट हो चुकी थी। बौद्ध होने के उपरान्त वह सहनशील भारतीय के रूप में अन्य धर्मावलम्बियों के प्रति उदार रहा[5]।

बुद्ध का धर्मप्रचार —

अनाथपिंडिक —

यद्यपि प्रारम्भ में बौद्ध धर्म कोसल मे कोसलराज का प्रश्रय न पा सका किन्तु सावत्थी के महासेट्ठि अनाथपिंडिक ने उसका सूत्रपात किया। उसने बुद्ध को सर्वप्रथम सावत्थी में आमंत्रित किया और उनके निवास के लिये एक विशाल स्थान निर्मित कराया, जो जेतवन के नाम से प्रसिद्ध है। बुद्ध ने इसी विहार में उन्नीस वस्सावास व्यतीत किये[6]।

अनाथपिंडिक प्रति दिन दो बार बुद्ध के दर्शनार्थ अपने मित्रों सहित जाते थे। उसने बुद्ध से कभी कोई प्रश्न नहीं पूछे। किन्तु बुद्ध ने अपनी ओर से उसे कई बार प्रवचन दिये, जो अंगुत्तर निकाय में संग्रहीत हैं[7]। संघ और भिक्षुओं को दान दे कर जब वह निर्धन हो कर निराश हो गया तब बुद्ध ने उसे वेलामसुत का पाठ सुना कर उत्साहित किया[8]। तत्पश्चात उसे सोतापन्न के गुण आदि बताये[9]। जब वह मृत्यु शैया पर पड़ा हुआ था तब सारिपुत्त ने उसे अनाथपिंडिकोवाद सुत्त का पाठ सुनाया। उसकी अनेक जीवन घटनाओं का उल्लेख जातक कथाओं में हुआ है।

विसाखा —

कोसल बौद्ध धर्म के प्रचार, प्रसार एवं बल प्रदान करने में दूसरा नाम विसाखा का है। वह साकेत के सेट्ठि की पत्नी हो गई। उसका जन्म भद्दिय नगर में हुआ था, जहां बुद्ध

1 संयुत्त० १, ७०; अंगुत्तर० ५, ६५ तथा आगे; दिव्यावदान १५४.
2 बुद्ध ने प्रथम प्रवचन इसीपतन में दिया, जेतवन में निवास किया और सावत्थी में चमत्कार प्रदर्शित किया। देखिये। मलालसेखर २, २९७.
3 वही २, १६९.
4 संयुत्त० १, ६९ देखिये कोसल संयुत्त.
5 वही, १, ७५–७६ तथा अंगुत्तर० २, ४२.
6 धम्पदट्ठकथा १, ३; बुद्धवंस टीका ३; मनोरत्थपूरणी अंगुत्तर टीका १, ३१४.
7 अंगुत्तर० १, ३.
8 वही ४, ३९२–३.
9 वही, ४०५; संयुत्त० ५, ६८७–८.

एक बार सेल ब्राह्मण तथा अन्य व्यक्तियों को उपदेश देने के हेतु गये थे। उस समय विसाखा केवल सात वर्ष की बालिका थी। तथागत के दर्शन पाकर उसकी बुद्ध के प्रति श्रद्धा बढ़ गई[1]।

विशाखा ने अपने श्वसुर मिगार को परिवार सहित निगंठ नात पुत्त के मत को छोड़ कर बौद्ध मत ग्रहण करणे के लिये बाध्य किया। वह प्रतिदिन ५०० भिक्षुओं को भोजन का प्रबंध करती थी[2]। उसने बुद्ध से आठ वरदान मांग रक्खे थे। उनमें से एक यह भी था कि वह वर्षाकाल में सावत्थी में आने वाले सभी भिक्षुणियों को भोजन, वस्त्र व रोगियों को औषधि आदि का दान किया करेगी[3]। उसने पुब्बाराम नामक विहार का निर्माण कराया, जो मिगार मातुयासाद के नाम से भी प्रसिद्ध हुआ[4]। विसाखा का परिवार बड़ा था। वह १२० वर्ष तक जीवित रही। सावत्थी के नागरिक उसके प्रति बड़ी श्रद्धा रखते थे और प्रत्येक उत्सव में उसे आमंत्रित करते थे[5]। बुद्ध ने विसाखा को संघ में दान देने वाली स्त्रियों में प्रधान कह कर उसकी प्रशंसा की है।

पालि ग्रंथों में अनेक सुत्तों का उल्लेख है, जो यदाकदा बुद्ध ने विसाखा को सुनाये थे। इनमें सर्वप्रमुख उपोसथ था[6]। इसमें स्त्री को इहलोक एवं परलोक के लिये शक्ति एवं सुख संचित कर आठ गुणों को पाने के उपाय के साधन बताए हैं[7]; इसके अतिरिक्त अन्य कई विशेषतायें थीं[8]।

गणकमोग्गलायन —

यह सावत्थी का एक विद्वान ब्राह्मण था। इसने पुब्बाराम में बुद्ध से भेंट कर मोग्गलायन सुत्त का पाठ सुना था। उपरान्त बुद्ध का अनुयायी हो गया[9]। उसके नाम एवं शिक्षाओं से वह गणितज्ञ प्रतीत होता है[10]।

पंचकंग —

यह कोसलराज पसेनदि का थपति (स्थपति), तथा बुद्ध का श्रद्धालु अनुयायी था। उसकी धर्म के प्रति आसक्ति थी। बहुवेदनिय सुत्त[11] में उसके और महाउदायि के बीच हुए वाद विवाद आनंद ने सुन कर बुद्ध से दुहरा दिया था। बुद्ध ने उसके लिए समनमंडिका सुत्त

1 मलालसेखर २, ६००.
2 फूजबाल, जातक ४, १४४.
3 विनय० १, २६०–१.
4 धम्मपदट्ठकथा १, ४१३.
5 वही १, ४०४.
6 अंगुत्तर० १, २०५ और धम्मपदट्ठकथा ३, ५८.
7 अंगुत्तर० ४, २६६.
8 वही, २६७.
9 मज्झिम० ३, १–२.
10 मलालवेखर १, ७३७.
11 मज्झिम० १, ३६६–७; संयुत्त० ४, २२३–४.

का पाठ किया था[1]। उसने एक बार अपने घर पर अनिरुद्ध और अभिय को आपस में (उन्हीं दोनों के बीच) वादविवाद के लिये आमंत्रित किया था। वाद विवाद का आरम्भ पंचकंग के द्वारा प्रश्न उठाने पर प्रारम्भ हुआ[2]। 'पंचकंग' थपति का व्यक्तिगत नाम था, क्योकि वह अपने पास सदैव पांच औजार (बढ़ई के) रखता था[3]।

इसिदत्त – पुराण —

इसिदत्त पसेनदि के राजभवन का महाप्रतिहार (गृहाध्यक्ष) था। इसिदत्त का उल्लेख सदैव पुराण के साथ होता है। उनका कार्य रनिवास की देखमाल करना था। इसप्रकार वे सदैव स्त्रियों के सम्पर्क में रहते थे। उन्होने बुद्ध से कहा कि ऐसे वातावरण में कुविचार आ जाना स्वाभाविक है। इसिदत्त एकदागामी ओर पुराणसातापन्ना था[4]। पुराण को ब्रह्मचारी भी कहा गया है। बुद्ध ने इसिदत्त को छः गुणों से युक्त बताया है[5]।

अंगुलिमाल —

कोसल राज्य में बुद्ध के धर्मप्रचार में सर्वाधिक महत्वपर्ण घटना थी अंगुलिमाल डाकू का डाकूपन त्याग कर साधु वेश ग्रहण करना। इसके पूर्व वह कोसल का भयानक एवं क्रूर डाकू था। बुद्ध की बोधि प्राप्ति के २०वें वर्ष वह बौद्ध धर्म में दीक्षित हो गया और अर्हत पद को प्राप्त हुआ[6]। इससे बौद्ध धर्म के प्रचार में बड़ा हित हुआ। इसका प्रभाव कोसल के राजा एवं प्रजा दोनों पर पढ़ा और वे बुद्ध से प्रभावित हुए[7]। संघ में प्रवज्जित होने के कुछ ही दिन उपरान्त उसका देहन्त हो गया[8]।

जैन धर्म —

कोसल के प्रमुख नगर अयोध्या, साकेत और श्रावस्ती महत्वपूर्ण जैन तीर्थ थे[9]। महावीर ने स्वयं इन नगरों का भ्रमण किया था[10]। और कोसल राज्य सीमा में स्थित पावा (मल्लों की राजधानी) ग्राम में कैवल्य प्राप्त किया था। इस प्रकार महावीर का कोसल से अच्छा सम्पर्क था।

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1 मज्झिम० २,२३–२४.
2 वही ३, १४४–१४५.
3 पपंचसूदनी मज्झिम टीका २, ६२९; सारत्थपकासिनी संयुत टीका ३, ८६.
4 संयुत्त टीका, १, २१५.
5 अंगुत्तर० ३, ४५१.
6 मोनोस्टिक बुद्धिज्म पृ० २४९.
7 मज्झिम० २,२३.
8 धम्मपदट्ठकथा ३, १६९.
9 उत्तर पुराण ५०. ६९; आवस्सक निर्ज्जुति ३२३, ३८२, ला कृत हिस्टारिकल ज्याग्रफी पृ० १२५.
10 जैन, जे० सी० लाइफ इन ऐशंट इंडिया पृ० ३२९; २६०-१, उदान टीका पृ० २३८.

अयोध्या —

प्रारम्भ से ही जैन धर्म का कोसल से संबन्ध रहा है। जैन साहित्य में अयोध्या का उल्लेख हुआ है[1]। जैन मान्यता के अनुसार अयोध्या आदि नगर एवं आदि तीर्थ है[2]। अयोध्या में अहिंसक परम्परा युगों तक चलती रही। नगर पांच तीर्थंकरों ऋषभनाथ, अजितनाथ, अभिनंदन नाथ, सुमतिनाथ तथा अनन्त नाथ का जन्म हुआ[3]। साकेत का पार्श्वनाथ व महावीर दोनों ने भ्रमण किया[4]।

जैन तीर्थंकरों ने मानव को अहिंसा के मार्ग की ओर उन्मुख किया। उसे भोग से विरत कर 'योग' की सुखद साधना में निरत किया। उस अवस्था में मानव जाति को कभी भी अन्न वस्त्र के अभाव का संकट सहना न पड़ा। उन्होंने अहिंसा का मंत्र फूका। प्रत्येक प्राणी को स्वयं जीवित रहना और दूसरे प्राणी को जीवित रहने देना सिखाया। उनका दृष्टिकोण विलक्षण था। वे भूख को उपाधि तथा वस्त्राभूषण को केवल तन ढकने के लिये ही गौरवपूर्ण था। ब्रह्मचर्य ही शृंगार था। अपने पास कुछ भी न रखना उनका वैभव था। अयोध्या में ऐसे ही आदर्शवादी मानव निवास करते थे[5]। अयोध्या में सत्य का संदेश सर्वप्रथम ऋषभ देव ने उद्घोषित किया। शुद्ध युद्गल जो अणु (एटम) के रूप में मिलता है, अपनी विलक्षण शक्ति रखता है।" एक निमिष में (पल मात्र मे) जाने कितली बार वह लोक का चक्कर लगा दे, ऐसी उसकी गति है। जैन तीर्थंकरों ने अनेक बार अनुविज्ञान का पलिचय संसार को कराया था[6]।

पृथ्वी का प्रथम चक्रवर्ती सम्राट् भी यहीं हुआ था। भरत के नाम से ही इस देश का नामकरण हुआ। भरत ने अयोध्या के पूर्वद्वार पर ऋषभनाथ तथा अजितनाथ दक्षिण द्वार पर सम्भवनाथ, पश्चिम द्वार पर सुपार्श्वनाथ तथा उत्तर द्वार पर धर्म तीर्थंकरों की प्रतिमाएं तथा स्तूप निर्मित कराए थे[7]।

महावीर का यहां सुखद विहार हुआ था। 'सुभूमिभाग' उद्यान में महावीर ने संघ को धर्मामृत का पान कराया था और कोटि वर्ष के राजा चिलात को दीक्षा दी थी[8]। नाभि, ऋषभ एवं भरत के समय अयोध्या इक्ष्वाकु वंशियों द्वारा शासित होती रही।

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1 जिनप्रभु सूरि विरचित विविध तीर्थकल्प पृ० २४.

2 तिल्लोयपण्णति, दृष्टव्य दि जैन एन्टीक्वैरी १९५१, पृ० १२९.

3 विविध तीर्थकल्प पृ० २४; उत्तरपुराण ६०, १३-१९५.

4 जैन, जे० सी० पृ० ३००.

5 जैन एन्टीक्वैरी पृ० १३१.

6 वही.

7 विविध तीर्थकल्प, पृ० २४; आदिपुराण दृष्टव्य जैन एन्टीक्वैरी.

8 भारत के प्राचीन जैन तीर्थ पृ० ३२८ दृष्टव्य जैन एन्टीक्वैरी.

श्रावस्ती —

जैन मतानुयायी श्रावत्थी को चन्द्रपुरी अथवा चन्द्रिकापुरी के नाम से पुकारते हैं[1]। नगर तृतीय तीर्थंकर सम्भवनाथ[2] तथा आठवें तीर्थंकर चन्द्रप्रभनाथ की जन्म भूमि थीं[3]। इसी महावीर नगर में महावीर तथा मंखलिपुत गोसाल की प्रथम भेंट हुई थी। महावीर के अनेक बार श्रादस्ती विचरण से प्रतीत होता है कि श्रावस्ती में जैन धर्म का प्रभाव था[4]। महावीर ने सावस्थी में एक वस्सावास व्यतीत किया[5]। नन्दिपिया नामक एक गृहस्थ धनी सावत्थी में रहता था। वह जैन धर्म का अनुयायी था[6]। मघवन जो श्रावस्ती के राजा समुद्रविजय का पुत्र एवं शक्तिशाली सम्राट था[7] भद्रा नामक पत्नी सहित जैन धर्म में दीक्षित हुआ था। केशी नामक श्रमण ने कठोर तपस्या द्वारा दैहिक एवं दैविक शक्तियां अर्जित की थीं, श्रुत एवं अवधि का ज्ञान प्राप्त कर लिया था। वह अपनी शिष्य मंडली सहित भ्रमण करते हुए श्रावस्ती आया था। नगर के निकठस्थ विन्दुक नामक उद्यान में अपना निवास स्थान बना रखा था। उस समय वर्धमान महावीर भी वहीं थे। केशी पहले पार्श्व उपरान्त महावीर का शिष्य हो गया[8]।

महावीर का भ्रमण क्षेत्र विस्तृत था। इसमें मगध कोसल राज्य विशेष रूप से आते हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त कोसल, मगध, विदेह एवं अंग आदि राज्यों में उनका प्रभुत्व था[9]। महावीर के जीवन काल में १४,००० श्रमण, ३६,००० भिक्षुणी, १,५९,००० पुरुष अनुयायी, ३,१८,००० स्त्री अनुयायी और ५४,००० अन्य भिक्षु थे, जोकि या तो चौदह पूर्वो के ज्ञाता अथवा केवलिन होते थे[10]।

महावीर का तत्कालीन प्रमुख राजवंशों से रक्त संबन्ध था, इसी कारण से जैन धर्म अनेक राज्यों का राज धर्म था। राजा प्रजा का स्वामी होता था। अतः प्रजा ने भी जैन धर्म का स्वागत किया[11]। पार्श्व के काल में इस बात का अभाव था। पार्श्व के विषय में हमारा ज्ञान अल्प है, जब कि पार्श्व के नाम से साहित्य का बाहुल्य है[12]।

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1 जर्नल आफ यू० पी० हिस्टारिकल सोसायटी (१९५) में देखिये लेख श्रावस्ती – राजेन्द्र विहारी पाण्डेय.
2 जैन हरिवंश पुराण पृ० ११७.
3 नन्दू लाल डे, डिक्शनरी पृ० १६.
4 आवश्यक सूत्र पृ० २२१; कल्प सूत्र सुबोधिका टीका १०३, १०५, १०६ द्रष्टव्य जैनिज्म इन नार्दन इंडिया पृ० १०९.
5 स्टीवेन्सन, हार्ट आप जैनिज्म पृ० ४२.
6 उवासगदसाओ, नवमं नंदणीपियज्फयणं, श्लोक २.८.
7 जैन सूत्र (एस० बी० ई०) २, ८५; द्रष्टव्य ला, श्रावस्ती इन लिट्रेचर.
8 वही.
9 इंडियन सेक्ट आफ दि जैनाज़ पृ० २७.
10 जैकोबी (एस० बी० ई०) भाग २२, पृ० २६७-८.
11 स्मिथ, आक्सफोर्ड हिस्ट्री आफ इंडिया, पृ० ५५.
12 कारपेन्टियर, कैम्ब्रिज हिस्ट्री आफ इंडिया, पृ० १५४.

आजीविक धर्म —

बौद्ध एवं जैन सम्प्रदाय के अतिरिक्त पांच गौण नास्तिक (अब्राह्मण) सम्प्रदाय थे[1]। ई० पू० छठी व पांचवीं शताब्दी में ये सम्प्रदाय कोसल में प्रचलित थे। इन पांच गौण सम्प्रदायों में आजिविक सम्प्रदाय का प्रमुख स्थान है। इसका नेता मक्खलिपुत्त गोसाल था[2]। गोसाल को गोसाल मक्खलिपुत्त कहा गया है[3]। उसका जन्म सावत्थी के निकट सर-वण नामक स्थान में हुआ था। इसके माता पिता का नाम क्रमशः भद्दा एवं मंक्खलि था। पिता मंख थे तथा मंखा वृत्ति से अपना जीवन निर्वाह करते थे। हाथ में एक चित्र ले कर नागरिकों को चित्र दिखा कर जीविकोपार्जन किया करते थे[4]।

एक बार मंखलि सपत्नीक पर्यटन क्रम से सर-वण (सन्निवेस) ग्राम के निकट पंहुचे। वहां गोबहुल नामक एक ब्राह्मण निवास करता था। वर्षा ऋतु थी। मंखलि ने गर्भवती पत्नी के साथ उसी ब्राह्मण की गोसाला में अपना पड़ाव डाल दिया। उसी में भद्दा ने पुत्र रत्न को जन्म दिया। गोसाला में जन्म ग्रहण करने के कारण शिशु का नाम गोसाल पड़ा[5]।

आजीविक लोग नग्न साधु वेष में रहते थे[6]। पिटकों में आजीविकों का उल्लेख हुआ है। आजीविकों का कोसल में प्रभुत्व था। उनके अनुयायी अधिक मात्रा में थे[7]। बड़े बड़े सम्मानित लोग उनके अनुचर थे। इसके अतिरिक्त शताब्दियों तक कोसल में उनका प्रभुत्व बना रहा। अशोक के अभिलेख इसके स्पष्ट प्रमाण हैं। जहां इनका उल्लेख तीन बार हुआ है[8]।

उवासगदसाओं एवं भगवती सूत्र के अनुसार गोसाल के मतानुयायी वैश्यवर्ग (कुम्हार व व्यापारी) के अधिक थे। उदाहरणार्थ कम्पिलपुर का नागरिक कुण्डकुलिय नामक व्यक्ति व्यापारी था[9]। पोलासपुर[10] कालपुत नामक एक धनी कुम्हार था तथा सावत्थी का नागरिक अयम्पुल[11] इसके अतिरिक्त हालाहला नामक एक कुम्हार की दूकान (सावत्थी में आश्रय पाकर उसने अपने साधु जीवन का अधिकांश व्यतीत किया[12]। मज्झिमनिकाय के अनुसार रथकार भी आजीविक सम्प्रदाय के मानने वाले थे[13]। अन्य सूत्र के अनुसार सावत्थी का सेट्ठि मिगार

1 मज्झिम० १, १९८, २५०; संयुत्त० १, ६०; फूज़बाल, १,५०६; ४, ३ ९८–९.
2 भगवती सूत्र १५,५५०, ६७४.
3 उवासगदसाओ पृ० १.
4 वही.
5 वही; बासम पृ० ३६.
6 विनय० १,२९१.
7 संयुत्त० १, ६८.
8 हुल्ज़, अशोक इंस्क्रप्शन्स, दे० इण्ड़ेक्स.
9 उवासगदसओ (ह्वर्नली संपादित), लेक्चर ६.
10 वही सैवशन ७.
11 ह्वर्नलीं परिशिष्ट, पृ० ९.
12 राकहिल, परिशिष्ट २, पृ० २५२; उवासगदसाओ १, पृ० ४-५.
13 १, ३१.

भी आजीविकों का अनुयायी था[1]। रेसप्रकार आजीविक धर्म के अनुसायी जनसाधारण के लोग थे, स्त्री पुरुष गृहस्थ सभी थें। इससे यह निष्कर्ष निकलता है कि कोसल में शौद्ध एवं जैन धर्म से आजिविक धर्म अधिक शक्तिशाली था। क्योंकि इन दोनों धर्मो को आजिविक धर्म से बड़ी हानि उठानी पड़ी। बुद्ध ने गोसाल को सबसे अधिक हानि पहुंचाने वाला कहा है[2]। इससे प्रतीत होता है कि कोसल में आजीविक मत का कितना प्रभाव था।

आर्जाविक दर्शन —

गोसाल ने माना था कि किसी वस्तु की स्थिथि के अभाव वस्तुओं की शुद्धता का न कोई कारण है न कोई तर्क। वास्तव में पूर्ण शक्ति, वीर्य अथवा मानवीय शक्ति या प्रयत्म कोई वस्तु विशेष नहीं है। इसके विपरीत सभी प्राणी, सभी भूत और सभी जीव शक्ति तेज और वीर्यहीन हैं। वे सभी अपने वैयक्तिक भाग्य द्वारा और अपनी प्रकृति द्वारा वाधित हैं। वस्तुतः यह उनकी छः (छणभिजाओं) जिनमें उनका जन्म हुआ है के कारण सुख अथवा दुख का अनुभव करते हैं। सम्पूर्ण ब्रह्माण्ड, विभिन्न प्रकार के जीवों में विभक्त हैं, जिनके अपने व्यापार हैं और उद्भव के प्रकार हैं। चौरासी लाख युगों के निरन्तर भ्रभण और पुनर्जन्म के पश्चात ज्ञानी और मूर्ख दोनों ही समान भाव से दुख की स्थिति से परे होंगे। सुख एवं दुख यदि किसी परिणाम के अनुसार नापे जावें तब भी पुनर्जन्म की स्थिति में कोई अन्तर नही हो सकता। उस स्थिति मे न तो वृद्धि होगी न हानि, न तो प्राबल्य होगा और न शैथिल्य[3]।

उनकी शिक्षाओं का मूलभूत ध्येय था "संसार शुद्धि"; पुनर्जन्म द्वारा शुद्धता प्राप्त करना। सम्भवतः "संसार शुद्धि" का अभिप्राय था कि सभी भूत, सभी वस्तुएं एवं सभी जीव निश्चित रूप से अपने समय चक्र के अनुसार शुद्धता की प्राप्त करते हैं और यह आवश्यक भी है[4]।

बुद्धघोष[5] के अनुसार आजीवक मत मानता था कि सभी 'सत्ता' या जीव का अर्थ था सभी प्रकार के पशु यथा ऊंट, गायें और गधे। सभी प्राण के अन्तर्गत सभी वे चेतन वस्तुए आ जाती थीं जो एकेन्द्रिय और दोनों प्रकार की अनुभूतियों वाले सभी वर्तमान वस्तुएं' भूतों के अर्थ होते थे सभी जीवित लोग जिन्हें उद्भूत माना जा सकता था यथा जो अण्डज होते थे या गर्भोद्भव होते, या नाभी से उत्पन्न होते थे, या बीजोद्भव होते थे। सभी जीवित तथ्य (जीवा) के अर्थ होते थे 'ब्रीहि', 'यव' एवं गोधूम्र इत्यादि।

गोसाल ने मनुष्य का वर्गीकरण छः भागों में किया है (छड़भिजातियो), जो उल्लेखनीय है। ये हैं, कण्ह, लोहित, हलिद्द, सुक्ल एवं परमसुक्ल। यह जैन सिद्धान्त (छः लक्ष्यों) से साम्य रखता है[6]। अंगुत्तरनिकाय में पूरणकस्सप ने भी इसी से मिलते जुलते सिद्धान्त का प्रतिपादन किया है[7]।

1 धम्मपद टीका, श्लोक ५३.
2 अंगुत्तर १, ३३.
3 दीघ० १, ५३–५४; मज्झिम० १, ५१६–१७.
4 मलालसेखर १, २३९.
5 धम्पदट्ठकथा १, १६१.
6 जैकोबी कृत जैन सूत्र, २, २१३.
7 अंगुत्तर ३, ३८३–४.

P. ADESWARA RAO

तुलनात्मक अध्ययन की प्रक्रिया तथा उपादेयता

हिन्दी में अनुसंधान की प्रक्रिया अत्यन्त प्राचीन होते हुए भी गत दो दशाब्दियों से वह अंग्रेजी शब्द 'रिसर्च' (research) का पर्याय बन गयी है। इस समय हिन्दी में अनुसंधान की प्रक्रिया के तीन स्वरूप उपलब्ध होते हैं —

१. अनुसंधान २. आलोचना ३. तुलात्मक अध्ययन। साहित्यिक अनुसंधान के इन तीन स्वरूपों में समानताओं के साथ भिन्नतायें भी वर्तमान हैं। इन तीनों के पारस्परिक सम्बन्ध पर प्रकाश डाला जाय।

१. साहित्यिक अनुसंधान के तीन विशिष्ट धर्म माने जा सकते हैं—नवीन तथ्यों की खोज, उपलब्ध तथ्यों की नवीन व्याख्या और ज्ञान-क्षेत्र का विस्तार।

२. 'आलोचना' का शाब्दिक अर्थ है समग्र निरीक्षण। साहित्यिक आलोचना साहित्यिक कृतियों का सांगोपांग निरीक्षण करती है। इस प्रक्रिया के तीन विशिष्ट अंग हैं – प्रभाव-ग्रहण, व्याख्या और विश्लेषण, मूल्यांकन या निर्णय (judgement)।

अनुसंधान और आलोचना – दोनों साहित्य – विद्या के दो उपभेद हैं। दोनों की प्रक्रिया में भी साम्य है। तथ्यों का संकलन, उन की व्याख्या और निष्कर्ष का उपयोग दोनों करते हैं। फिर भी इन दोनों के दृष्टिकोण में भिन्नता है। अनुसंधान अन्वेषण पर अधिक बल देता है तो आलोचना निरीक्षण पर। कला-तत्त्व आलोचना का अनिवार्य अंग है, किन्तु अनुसंधान का नहीं, यदि है भी तो गौण रूप में। अनुसंधान का उद्देश्य ज्ञानवृद्धि है और आलोचना का आत्मा का साक्षात्कार कराना तथा मर्म का उद्‌घाटन करना है। वास्तव में उच्चतर आलोचना उत्तम अनुसंधान भी है और उच्चकोटि का साहित्यक अनुसंधान आलोचना से अभिन्न है।

३. तुलनात्मक अध्ययन एक ही साहित्य के या विभिन्न साहित्यों के दो लेखकों या युगों की समानताओं तथा भिन्नताओं पर प्रकाश डालकर उन के कारणों का अन्वेषण करता है। अनुसंधान और तुलनात्मक अध्ययन में भी कुछ पार्थक्य दिखाई पड़ता है। अनुसंधान की प्रक्रिया में तुलनात्मक-विधान की भी सहायता ली जाती है और तुलनात्मक अध्ययन में भी गंभीर अन्वेषण, परीक्षण और निष्कर्ष आदि साहित्यक आलोचना तथा अनुसंधान की प्रक्रियाओं से लाभ उठाया जाता है। तुलनात्मक अध्ययन अनुसंधान की अपेक्षा आलोचना के ही निकट पड़ता है।

१. तुलनात्मक अध्ययन का महत्त्व :— वास्तव में तुलनात्मक अध्ययन का उत्तर-दायित्व आलोचना एवं अनुसंधान से भी महत्वपूर्ण है। वह मानव या व्यक्ति के सीमित ज्ञान – क्षेत्र का विस्तार करता है और उस की भाषा, साहित्य एवं देश के बन्धनों को ज्ञानार्जन में बाधा डालने नहीं देता। पाश्चात्य विद्वान मेक्समिलर के अनुसार 'सभी उच्चतर ज्ञान

की प्राप्ति तुलना से हुई है और वह तुलना पर ही आधारित है।'[1] इस प्रकार तुलनात्मक अध्ययन उच्चतर ज्ञान-वृद्धि में सहायक होता है। वह साहित्य के क्षेत्र में एक ही साहित्य के या विभिन्न साहित्यों के लेखकों या प्रवृत्तियों की तुलना कर उन के बीच के साम्य या वैषम्य का उद्घाटन करता है और उन के कारणों की भी खोज करता है। अतः हम यहाँ तुलनात्मक अध्ययन के महत्त्व पर विचार करेंगे।

विश्व के विभिन्न देशवासियों के बीच जाति, वर्ण और धर्म आदि के वैमनस्य के होते हुए भी उन के मस्तिष्क एवं हृदय में प्रायः समानता पायी जाती है। चिरन्तन काल से मानव-मस्तिष्क एवं मानव-हृदय विकास के पथ पर अग्रसर होते आये हैं और विश्व-मानव के सतत प्रयासों ने विश्व-जीवन को प्रशस्त बना दिया है। जीवन के क्षेत्र में ही नहीं, अपितु कला और साहित्य के क्षेत्र में भी विश्व-मानव का सम्पूर्ण बाह्य एवं आभ्यन्तरिक व्यक्तित्त्व स्वयं अभिव्यक्त होता जा रहा है। विश्व के सभी महत्त्वपूर्ण साहित्यों पर दृष्टिपात करने से यह स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि विश्व-साहित्य में अभिव्यक्त मानव-चेतना एवं मानव-हृदय एक ही है। मानव-समाज के क्रमिक-विकास में विभिन्न सामाजिक परिस्थितियों से गुजरते हुए भी इस प्रकार मानव-मन अपने देश, काल, भाषा एवं साहित्य के बन्धनों को पारकर विश्व-साहित्य के माध्यम से अपने सार्वभौमिक एवं चिरन्तन स्वरूप का परिचय देता आ रहा है। 'वातावरण, रीति-रिवाज, संस्कृति एवं सभ्यता आदि विषयों में भिन्नता होते हुए भी मानव-मन एक ही साँचे में ढला है।'[2] मानव की यह एकता साहित्य एवं कलाओं में अपना समग्र स्वरूप ग्रहण करती है। महाकवि वर्ड्सवर्थ के अनुसार भी 'थल और वातावरण, भाषा और रहन-सहन, शासन और रीति-रिवाज आदि में भिन्नता होते हुए भी सदा से सम्पूर्ण विश्व में व्याप्त विशाल मानव-समाज के साम्राज्य को कवि अपने आवेग और ज्ञान के सूत्रों से बाँध देता है।'[3]

विभिन्न साहित्यों के अध्ययन से साहित्य के दो प्रधान तत्त्व हमारे सम्मुख आते हैं—

१. विभिन्न साहित्यों में अभिव्यक्त मानव-चेतना (मानव-हृदय एवं मस्तिष्क) की एकता।

२. उन साहित्यों की विशेषताएँ और विलक्षणताएं जिन के कारण उन का अपना पृथक् अस्तित्व है। उन साहित्यिक भाषा-प्रदेशों के जन-समुदाय के सामाजिक एवं प्राकृतिक वातावरण, सभ्यता, संस्कृति आदि के कारण विभिन्न साहित्यों में पार्थक्य आ जाता है। विश्व

1. ".....all higher Knowledge is gained by comparison and rests on comparison." (Max Muller *Lectures on the Science of Religion* P. 12)

2. "Despite the differences in environment, in manners, in cultures and civilizations, the human mind is cast in the same mould." ['साहित्य-दर्शन' पर एक दृष्टि: Dr. G. S. Mahajani: in 'साहित्य-दर्शन'—प्रथम भाग, P. 6.]

3. ".....inspite of difference of soil and climate, of language and manners of laws and customs.....the poet binds together by passion and Knowledge the vast empire of human society, as it is spread over the whole earth and over all time." (—Wordsworth: by Carlos Baker in '*English Romantic poets*' pp. 102. 103.)

के सभी साहित्य इन दो तत्त्वों के आनुपातिक मिश्रण से निर्मित हुए हैं। पाश्चात्य साहित्यों के बीच समानता, भिन्नता की अपेक्षा अधिक मुखर एवं स्पष्ट है और भारतीय साहित्यों के विषय में भी यही कहा जा सकता है। किन्तु पाश्चात्य और भारतीय साहित्यों में भिन्नता की मात्रा अवश्य कुछ अधिक ही है। इसी तरह तुलनात्मक अध्ययन के भी उपर्युक्त दोनों पक्ष हैं और वह दोनों के कारणों को भी ढूँढ़ निकालता है।

वास्तव में भाषा और साहित्य दो भिन्न शब्द हैं और साहित्य केलिए भाषा का कोई बन्धन स्वीकार्य नहीं। भाषा केवल साहित्य की अभिव्यक्ति की माध्यम मात्र है। साहित्य में मानव-समुदाय के भाव-जगत् एवं विचार-जगत् अभिव्यक्ति पाते हैं। विभिन्न साहित्यों के भाव-जगत् प्रायः एक-से रहते हैं और भाषा की भिन्नता तथा अन्य कारणों से उन में किंचित् पार्थक्य अवश्य आ जाता है।' हर एक भाषा की अपनी विशेषता है। किन्तु सभी भाषाओं में भावों का अस्तित्व है। भाव मानव-निष्ठ हैं और भाषा जाति-निष्ठ। यह जाति-निष्ठ भाषा भावों में विलक्षणता लाती है।'[1] अतः भिन्न साहित्यों की भाषागत विशेताओं में से साहित्यगत एकरूपता या समानता का निरूपण करना तुलनात्मक अध्ययन का मुख्य उद्देश्य है। विभिन्न प्रादेशिक साहित्यों के बीच भिन्नताओं के कारणों की खोज करना भी उस का दूसरा उद्देश्य है। तुलनात्मक अध्ययन का महत्त्व मानवतावाद एवं विश्व-मानव की भ्रातृ भावना के साथ और भी बढ़ गया है। विश्व-मानव के भाव तथा विचार विश्व-साहित्य के रूप में संचित हैं। विश्व-साहित्य की एकता का निरूपण और उस के द्वारा विश्व-मानव की एकता का उद्घाटन तुलनात्मक अध्ययन का और एक उद्देश्य है। इस प्रकार यह भली भाँति देखा जा सकता है कि तुलनात्मक अध्ययन का लक्ष्य हमारे सीमित ज्ञान का विस्तार करना है और अन्य साहित्यों की उपलब्धियों से भी हमें अवगत कराना है। उस समय मानव अपने देश, भाषा, जाति और काल के बन्धनों को पारकर विश्व-साहित्य तथा विश्व-मानव के उच्चतर साहित्यिक एवं कलात्मक उड़ानों को देखकर उस के रस-सिन्धु में डूब जाता है। मानव अपने भाषा, प्रान्त एवं जातिगत अहं को त्याग कर निर्लिप्त, किन्तु गंभीर होकर मानव-मूल्यों को परखने लगता है तो उसे विश्व-मानव हृदय की धड़कन सुनाई पड़ती है। अतः दो साहित्यों का तुलनात्मक अध्ययन भी मानव के इस महान लक्ष्य के संकल्प का दृढ़ अंग बनकर उसी मात्रा में मानव-समाज के ज्ञान-क्षेत्र के विस्तार में सहायक सिद्ध होता है। संक्षेप में, चिरन्तन मानव की प्रतिभा की सिद्धि विश्व के साहित्य-कोषों में संचित है जिस के सार्वभौमिक स्वरूप पर प्रकाश डाल कर तुलनात्मक अध्ययन मानव के ज्ञान-क्षितिज को विस्तृत करता है।

२. तुलनात्मक अध्ययन की प्रक्रिया का स्थूल एवं सूक्ष्म रूप:—अब यह सोचना आवश्यक हो जाता है कि तुलनात्मक अध्ययन की प्रक्रिया कैसी होनी चाहिए? उस के

1 "ए भाषका भाषालक्षणमु विशेषमु। कानि भावमुलु सर्वं भाषलंदु नुंडुनु। भावमुलु मानव निष्ठमुलु, भाष जातिनिष्ठमु। ई जाति निष्ठमैन भाष भावमुलयन्दु कूड विलक्षणत्वमु संपादिंचुनु।" [नेनु—ना रचना: विश्वनाथ सत्यनारायण। विश्वश्री विश्वनाथ साहित्य संचिका (जनवरी १९५४) पृ० ९।].

मानदण्ड क्या है? वास्तव में तुलनात्मक अध्ययन उसी समय सफल माना जायगा जब कि अध्ययन की दो विषय-वस्तुओं में अधिक समानता हो या वस्तुएँ कम से कम एक ही सूत्र में बँधी हों। तुलना में तो समानता या एकरूपता को अधिक बल मिलना चाहिए। वैसे तो भिन्नतायें सर्वत्र दिखाई पड़ती हैं। जिस प्रकार साहित्यिक अनुसंधान के स्थूल एवं सूक्ष्म रूप हैं उसी प्रकार तुलनात्मक अध्ययन में भी ये दोनों रूप पाये जाते हैं। तुलनात्मक अध्ययन का स्थूल रूप वह है जिस में भिन्न साहित्यों या एक ही साहित्य के दो युगों या दो प्रवृत्तियों के वर्ण्य-विषय, काल-विभाजन, सामाजिक एवं सांस्कृतिक परिस्थितियाँ और उस के अंतर्गत आनेवाले कवियों एवं उन से प्रयुक्त अलंकारों तथा छन्दों की लम्बी सूची आदि का उल्लेख हो। दो कवियों के विषय में भी यही रूप समक्ष आ जाता है। यह तो केवल तथ्यों का संकलन मात्र होता है जो आगे चलकर किसी सत्य के उद्घाटन में सहायक हो सकते हैं। सत्य के आविष्कार में इस स्थूल सामग्री का उपयोग किया जा सकता है। अतः हम यह नहीं कह सकते कि साहित्यिक अनुसंधान के इस स्थूल रूप का स्वयं अपने में कोई महत्व या मूल्य नहीं, किन्तु यह अनुसंधान की उच्चतर भूमि तो नहीं हो सकती। साहित्यिक अनुसंधान के साथ साथ तुलनात्मक अध्ययन में भी इस पर दृष्टिपात किया जाता है कि आलोच्य साहित्यों में किस प्रकार मानव के उच्चतर मूल्यों, विचारधाराओं, चिंतन-प्रणालियों एवं अनुभूतियों को अभिव्यक्ति मिली है जो उन जाहित्यों के माध्यम से प्रकट हुई हैं। इन्हीं मानव-मूल्यों का उद्घाटन तथा अज्ञात ज्ञान-राशि का प्रकाशन ही तुलनात्मक अध्ययन का मुख्य उद्देश्य है। यही साहित्य के अंतर्गत तुलनात्मक अध्ययन का सूक्ष्म रूप है। 'सच्ची साहित्यिक विद्वत्ता स्थूल तथ्यों पर नहीं, अपितु मूल्यों तथा गुणों पर निर्भर करती है।'[1] तुलनात्मक अध्ययन के सूक्ष्म रूप के उद्घाटन करने में उस का स्थूल रूप केवल साधन मात्र बन जाता है। अतः अच्चतर तुलनात्मक अनुसंधान करने के लिए आलोचक को आलोच्य साहित्यों के माध्यम से मानव-मूल्यों का निर्धारण करना चाहिए और उस कार्य केलिए सभी उपलब्ध सामग्री का समुचित उपयोग भी करना चाहिए। 'सम्पूर्ण साहित्यिक प्रक्रियाओं की परीक्षा करना, उन की तुलना करना, उन का वर्गीकरण करना, उन के कारणों की खोज करना तथा उन के परिणामों को निर्धारित करना ही तुलनात्मक साहित्य का वास्तविक ध्येय है।'[2]

३. तुलनात्मक अध्ययन के प्रकार :— तुलनात्मक अध्यन की प्रक्रिया को तीन प्रकारों में बाँट सकते हैं। विषय के स्वभाव के अनुरूप हर प्रकार को पुनः विभिन्न भागों में विभाजित कर सकते हैं। वे इस प्रकार हैं — चार ?

१. एक ही साहित्य के अंतर्गत तुलनात्मक अध्ययन : इसे भी और तीन भागों में विषय की सीमा के अनुरूप, विभाजित किया जा सकता है —

1. ".....True literary scholarship is not concerned with inert facts, but with values and qualities." Rene Wellek: (*The crisis of Comparative Literature:* p. 156)

2. "To examine, then, the phenomena of literature as a whole, to compare them, to group them, to classify them, to enquire into the causes of them, to determine the results of them—this is the true task of comparative literature." (Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, 1896. Ed. by James W. Bright: Taken from the essay *The Comparative study of Literature*: p. 166)

(अ) दो लेखकों या कवियों की तुलना :

इस के उदाहरण के रूप में डा० गोविन्द त्रिगुणायत से लिखित 'कबीर और जायसी के रहस्यवाद का तुलनात्मक अध्ययन' को लिया जा सकता है ।

(आ) दो प्रवृत्तियों की तुलना ।

'द्विवेदी-युगीन कविता और छायावाद का तुलनात्मक अध्ययन' ऐसे विषय पर एक तुलनात्मक प्रबन्ध लिखा जा सकता है ।

(इ) दो युगों की तुलना ।

'हिन्दी के भक्तिकाल और रीतिकाल के काव्य का तुलनात्मक अध्ययन' ऐसे विषय पर तुलनात्मक अध्ययन हो सकता है ।

२. एक साहित्य का अन्य साहित्यों पर प्रभाव : यह प्रभाव तीन रूपों में पड़ सकता है :—

(अ) एक साहित्य का दूसरे साहित्य पर प्रभाव ।

इस के उदाहरणों के रूप में डा० सरनामसिंह शर्मा 'अरुण' का शोध प्रबन्ध 'हिन्दी-साहित्य पर संस्कृत-साहित्य का प्रभाव (१४०० – १६०० ई०) और डा० विश्वनाथ मिश्र का शोध प्रबन्ध 'हिन्दी भाषा और साहित्य पर अंग्रेजी प्रभाव' आदि लिये जा सकते हैं ।

(आ) एक साहित्यिक व्यक्तित्त्व का अन्य साहित्यों पर प्रभाव ।

'हिन्दी कवियों पर रवीन्द्र का प्रभाव' ऐसे विषय पर एक प्रबन्ध प्रस्तुत किया जा सकता हैं ।

(इ) एक साहित्यिक प्रवृत्ति या काव्य-धारा का दूसरे साहित्य की प्रवृत्ति या काव्य-धारा पर प्रभाव ।

'अंग्रेजी स्वच्छन्दतावाद का हिन्दी कविता पर प्रभाव' इस विषय पर उच्च कोटि का प्रबन्ध प्रस्तुत किया जा सकता है ।

३. दो या उस से अधिक साहित्यों का तुलनात्मक अध्ययन :– विषय के अनुसार इसे चार भागों में बाँट सकते हैं —

(अ) दो कवियों की तुलना ।

इस के उदाहरण स्वरूप डा० शंकरराजुलु नायुडु का शोध प्रबन्ध 'कम्बन और तुलसी' रखा जा सकता है ।

(आ) दो विशिष्ट कृतियों की तुलना ।

डा० रामनाथ त्रिपाठी का शोध प्रबन्ध 'कृत्तिवासी बँगला रामायण और रामचरि का तुलनात्मक अध्ययन तथा डा० विद्यामिश्र का शोध प्रबन्ध' वाल्मीकि-रामायण और रामचरितमानस का तुलनात्मक अध्ययन' इस के उदाहरण हैं ।

(इ) दो प्रवृत्तियों या युगों की तुलना ।

इस के अंतर्गत डा० रत्नकुमारी का शोध प्रबन्ध 'हिन्दी और बंगला के वैष्णव कवियों (१६वीं शताब्दी) का तुलनात्मक अध्ययन', डा० के० भास्करन नय्यर का शोध प्रबन्ध 'हिन्दी और मलयालम के भक्त कवियों का तुलनात्मक अध्ययन', डा० हिरण्मय का शोध प्रबन्ध 'हिन्दी और कन्नड़ में भक्ति आन्दोलन का तुलनात्मक अध्ययन', डा० प्रभाकर माचवे का शोध प्रबन्ध 'हिन्दी और मराठी का निर्गुण संतकाव्य (११वीं से १५ वीं शती: तुलनात्मक अध्ययन) आदि आते हैं ।

(ई) किसी साहित्यक विधा की तुलना ।

डा० पाण्डुरंगराव का शोध प्रबन्ध 'आंध्र - हिंन्दी रूपक (हिन्दी और तेलुगू नाटक - साहित्य का तुलनात्मक अध्ययन)' इस के अंतर्गत आता है ।

उपर्युक्त तीनों प्रकारों के अध्ययन में प्रथम में तो एक साहित्य के ही अंतर्गत तुलना होती है, अत: ऐसे अध्ययन का महत्त्व उसी साहित्य तक ही सीमित है । दूसरे प्रकार में तुलनात्मक अध्ययन एक साहित्य का अन्य साहित्यों पर प्रभाव को स्पष्ट करता है । इस से यह स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि एक साहित्य का प्रभाव अन्य साहित्यों के दृष्टिकोणों, भावों, विचारों एवं चिंतन - प्रणालियों पर किस प्रकार पड़ता है और ऐसे प्रभावित साहित्य के प्रान्त की संस्कृति एवं सभ्यता किस प्रकार परिवर्तित हुई हैं । "एक साहित्य के अन्य साहित्यों पर प्रभाव का अध्ययन करते हुए तुलनात्मक साहित्य वास्तव में, उस साहित्य की समग्र संस्कृति का प्रभाव अन्य साहित्यों पर स्पष्ट करता है । सत्यत: यह प्रक्रिया एक साहित्य के विद्वान को अपनी संस्कृति के अतिरिक्त अन्य संस्कृतियों की प्रशंसा करने को बाध्य करता है । इस प्रकार वह इस विभक्त संसार में जन - समुदाय को एक दूसरे के निकट लाने और मानव - जाति की भिन्नताओं की अपेक्षा एकता पर बल देने की चेष्टा करता है ।"[1] विशाल संस्कृत साहित्य का प्रभाव विश्व के सभी सभ्य साहित्यों पर प्रत्यक्ष और परोक्ष रूप में दिखाई पड़ता है । जर्मन और अंग्रेजी साहित्यों पर तो यह प्रभाव और अधिक स्पष्ट है । इसी तरह प्रत्यक्ष या परोक्ष रूप से अनादिकाल से भी पाश्चात्य तथा भारतीय साहित्यों के बीच विचारों का आदान - प्रदान रहा है । अत: तुलनात्मक अध्ययन पश्चिमी और भारतीय साहित्यों की एकरूपता, भिन्नता और एक दूसरे पर प्रभाव आदि का सांगोपांग अध्ययन कर, एक कमी की पूर्ति अवश्य करता है ।

तीसरे प्रकार में तुलनात्मक अध्ययन अपने समग्र रूप में प्रकट होता है । इस में अनुसंधाता को दो साहित्यों का समुचित अध्ययन एवं अनुशीलन करना पड़ता है । उसे उन साहित्यों के मूल स्वरों के साथ साहित्यिक भाषा - प्रान्तों की संस्कृति, सभ्यता एवं वातावरण

1. "Comparative Literature, in studying the impact of one literature, actually of a whole culture, on others, is really concerned with the appreciation of cultures other than that of the individual scholar. In this way it tends to bring people together in this divisive world and to stress the oneness of the human race rather than its differences." (Comparative Literature Vol. I: Proceedings of the second congress of the I.C.L.A.: p. xxii)

का सम्यक् ज्ञान होना चाहिए। अन्यथा तुलनात्मक अध्ययन के गंभीर एवं स्थायी न होने का भय है। ऐसे तुलनात्मक अध्ययनों से विभिन्न साहित्यों में बिखरी हुई मानव-चेतना का स्पष्टीकरण हो जाता है। तुलनात्मक अध्ययन में संलग्न अनुसंधाता को निम्नलिखित विषयों पर ध्यान देना चाहिए —

(१) अनुसंधाता को दोनों आलोच्य साहित्यों तथा उन की भाषाओं का अच्छा ज्ञान होना चाहिए।

(२) दोनों साहित्यों का अध्ययन प्रस्तुत करते समय किसी एक साहित्य के प्रति अधिक आदर या पक्षपात की दृष्टि नहीं रखनी चाहिए। अनुसंधाता को सदा सतर्क एवं निर्लिप्त होने के साथ साथ अध्ययन की मार्मिकता एवं गहनता का परिचय देना चाहिए।

(३) जहाँ तक हो सके, अनुसंधाता को विषय की तुलना सभी दृष्टियों से करनी चाहिए। तुलना के लिए साहित्य के मूलभूत तत्त्वों पर आधारित रहना अधिक श्रेयस्कर है जिससे दोनों साहित्यों की एकरूपता या भेदकता स्पष्ट हो जाय।

(४) जहां तक हो सके, अनुसंधाता को मुख्य भाषा में अन्य साहित्य के उद्धरणों को अनूदित कर के रखना अधिक उपयोगी सिद्ध होगा। उस के द्वारा मुख्य भाषा-भाषी संसार के अन्य साहित्य को समग्र रूप से समझने में सुविधा होगी।

४. भारत के प्रादेशिक साहित्यों के बीच तुलनात्मक अध्ययन की आवश्यकता— भारत बहुत-सी भाषाओं का देश है और हर एक भाषा का अपना समृद्ध एवं विकसित साहित्य भी है। इन साहित्यों के बीच अत्यधिक समानतायें मिलती हैं। इन सभी प्रादेशिक साहित्यों की संगठित उपलब्धि ही भारतीय साहित्य की उपलब्धि है। इस के अतिरिक्त भारत के विभिन्न प्रान्तों का जन-समुदाय आपस में दृढ़ सांस्कृतिक सूत्रों से जुडा हुआ है। अतः प्रादेशिक साहित्यों के अंतर्गत बिखरी हुई भारत की सांस्कृतिक एकता का अन्वेषण होना चाहिए। आचार्य नन्ददुलारे वाजपेयी जी का आग्रह है कि "भारतीय संस्कृति की एकता के वे तत्त्व प्रकाश में आने चाहिए जो विभिन्न प्रादेशिक साहित्यों के माध्यम से मुखर हुए हैं। ऐसे विषयों में सांस्कृतिक एकता और प्रादेशिक विशेषताओं का युगपत् अध्ययन अपेक्षित होगा। विभिन्न प्रादेशिक कवियों के वैशिष्ट्य के विषय में भी ऐसे अध्ययन अपेक्षित हो सकते हैं जो जातीय जीवन की समग्रता को केन्द्र बनाकर किये गये। केवल स्फुट या परिच्छिन्न रूप से दो कवियों की विशेषताओं के प्रदर्शन का कोई अर्थ नहीं होता। इन सब कार्यों में हमारा लक्ष्य सांस्कृतिक पक्ष के सामूहिक उद्घाटन का ही हो सकता है। वस्तुतः लोक-संस्कृति और प्रादेशिक संस्कृतियों से सम्बन्धित समस्त अनुशीलन जातीय जीवन की विविधता में एकता का संकेत करने का लक्ष्य ही रख सकता है।"[1] अतः भारत के विभिन्न प्रादेशिक साहित्यों में जो समानतायें एवं भिन्नतायें मिलती हैं, उन के कारणों पर प्रकाश डालना अत्यन्त आवश्यक हो जाता है। सभी प्रादेशिक साहित्यों की तुलना कर, उन में व्याप्त भारत की सार्वभौमिक सांस्कृतिक एकता को निर्धारित कर, उस के आधार पर भारतीय साहित्य के मूल स्वरों के

1 अनुसंधान की प्रक्रिया: विषय-निर्वाचन १ (लेख से) आचार्य नन्ददुलारे वाजपेयी। पृ० ७५–७६।

साथ साथ उस के समग्र व्यक्तित्त्व तथा उस के सांस्कृतिक हृदय को भी स्पष्ट किया जा सकता है। "इस प्रकार यह विश्वास करना कठिन नही है कि' भारतीय वाङ्मय अनेक भाषाओं में अभिव्यक्त एक ही विचार है। देश का यह दुर्भाग्य है कि स्वतन्त्रता-प्राप्ति तक विदेशी प्रभाव के कारण अनेकता को ही बल मिलता रहा है। इस की मूलवर्ती एकता का सम्यक् अनुसंधान अभी होना है। इस के लिए अत्यन्त निस्संग भाव से, सत्य-शोध पर दृष्टि केन्द्रित रखते हुए भारत के विभिन्न साहित्यों में विद्यमान समान तत्त्वों एवं प्रवृत्तियों का विधिवत् अध्ययन पहली आवश्यकता है। यह कार्य हमारे अध्ययन और अनुसंधान की प्रणाली में परिवर्तन की अपेक्षा करता है। किसी भी प्रवृत्ति का अध्ययन केवल एक भाषा के साहित्य तक ही सीमित नहीं रहना चाहिए - वास्तव में इस प्रकार का अध्ययन अत्यन्त अपूर्ण रहेगा।"[1] भारतीय साहित्यों के बीच तुलनात्मक अध्ययन इसलिये और भी महत्त्वपूर्ण हो जाता है कि अनादिकाल से भारतवर्ष में एक ही विचारधारा का, एक ही जीवन-दर्शन का, एक ही महान आदर्श का प्रसार एवं प्रचार था। 'भारत में सांस्कृतिक राष्ट्रीयता पहले उत्पन्न हुई, राजनीतिक राष्ट्रीयता बाद को जन्मी है।'[2] सामान्यतः विशाल संस्कृत भाषा तथा साहित्य का प्रभाव सभी साहित्यों पर पाया जाता है। भारतीय दर्शन तथा उस के आध्यात्मिक दृष्टिकोण का प्रभाव सभी साहित्यों पर न्यूनाधिक मात्रा में पाया जाता है। इन साहित्यों की मुख्य गतिविधियों में और भी मौलिक समानतायें मिलती हैं, जिस से यह स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि भारतीय साहित्य विभिन्न प्रादेशिक साहित्य-सुमनों से भरा हुआ एक ही उपवन है। जिस प्रकार पुष्पों के अपने पृथक् रूप-रंग के होते हुए भी उन में एक ही रस का, एक ही मधु का, एक ही सुगंध का अस्तित्व है उसी प्रकार विभिन्न प्रादेशिक साहित्यों के बाह्य रूप-रंगों में भिन्नता और आंतरिक चेतना की समानता दिखाई देती है। इस तरह प्रादेशिक साहित्य भारतीय साहित्य के उपवन में अपने बाह्य रूप-रंगों के वैविध्य से उस की विशालता और आंतरिक समानता से उस की अखण्डता का उद्घाटन कर उस के समग्र सौन्दर्य को द्विगुणीकृत करते हैं। अतः भारतीय साहित्य के समग्र स्वरूप का आकलन करने के लिए पहले उस के विभिन्न प्रादेशिक साहित्यों के बीच तुलनात्मक अध्ययन का होना अत्यन्त आवश्यक है।

1 डाक्टर नगेन्द्र के सर्वश्रेष्ठ निबन्ध 'भारतीय साहित्य की मूलभूत एकता' नामक लेख से। पृ० ७०।

2 रामधारीसिंह दिनकर : संस्कृति के चार अध्याय। द्वितीय संस्करण। पृ० ४९८।

N. Subbu Reddiar

பண்டைத் தமிழரின் சமய வாழ்க்கை

''இலக்கியம் வாழ்க்கையிலிருந்து மலர்கின்றது; அது வாழ்க்கைக் காகவே நிலைத்திருக்கின்றது; அது வாழ்க்கைக்கே சொந்தமானது'' என்று கூறுகின்றார் ஆங்கிலத் திறனாய்வாளர் ஹட்சன்.[1] தமிழர்களின் தலை சிறந்த இலக்கணம் தொல்காப்பியம். அதன் பொருளதிகாரப் பகுதி தமிழர்களின் வாழ்வியலாகத் திகழ்கின்றது. காதலையும் வீரத்தையும் ஒரு கலையாக வளர்த்த அவர்களின் ஒப்பற்ற பெருமையை எடுத்தியம்பு கின்றது. இலக்கியம் தோன்றுவதற்கு முன்னர் இலக்கணம் தோன்றி யிருந்திருக்க முடியாது. எண்ணற்ற இலக்கியங்கள் ஏராளமாகத் தோன் றிச் செழித்த பிறகுதான் இலக்கணம் தோன்ற முடியும். தொல்காப் பியப் பொருளதிகாரத்தைத் தமிழர்களின் ஒப்பற்ற சமுதாய நூல்[2] என்று கூறினாலும் பொருந்தும். இந்த நூலிலிருந்து பண்டைத் தமிழர்களின் சமய வாழ்க்கையைப்பற்றி ஒரு சில குறிப்புக்களை அறிந்து கொள்ளலாம்.

சமயம் என்பது ஒரு வகை அருள் நிலை; அது கலை யன்று. கலைக ளெல்லாம் அறிவு நிலையைச் சார்ந்தே இருக்கும். சமயம் அல்லது வாழ்வு என்பதோ அக்கலைகளின் பயனுகிய உணர்வு நிலையைப்பற்றியே இருக்கும். சமயத்தையும் ஒரு கலையாக எண்ணி அதற்கெனத் தனிக் குறியீடுகளும் இலக்கணங்களும் தோன்றிய காலத்தில்தான் வாழ்க்கையும் சமயமும் தனித்தனியாய்ப் பிரிந்துவிட்டன; அதிலிருந்து வெறும் சொல்லாடல் களும் வீண் வாதங்களும் பிறந்து வளர்ந்தன. இவற்றைத் தெளிவுற அறிந்த இராமலிங்க அடிகளும்,

சாதியிலே மதங்களிலே சமயநெறி களிலே
சாத்திரச் சந்தடியிலே கோத்திரச் சண்டையிலே
ஆதியிலே அபிமானத் தலைகின்ற உலகீர்!
அலைந்தலைந்து வீணேநீர் அழிதல் அழகலவே[3].

என்று எச்சரித்துச் சென்றார். அவர் கருத்துப்படி ஆண்டவன் சாதியும் சமயமும் காணு ஆதியநாதியாய், அருட்பெருஞ் சோதியாய், விளங்கு

1. Hudson, W. H.: *An Introduction to the Study of Literature*, Ch. 3, Sec. 3, P. 121.

2. சமுதாய நூல்: Sociological treatise.

3. திருவருட்பா. ஆருந்திருமுறை (108 உறுதி கூறில் – 2.1)

கின்றன். ஐன்ஸ்டைன் போன்ற மெய்ஞ்ஞானச் சுடருடன் விளங்கும் அறிவியல் மேதைகளும் இந்த உண்மையைத்தான் காண்கின்றனர். தமது நூல்களிலும் அதனை ஆங்காங்கு உணர்த்திச் செல்கின்றனர்.

சங்கத் தமிழர்கள் இயற்கையோடு நெருங்கி வாழ்ந்தவர்கள். அவர்களது தெய்வ வழிபாடும் இயற்கையைத் தழுவியே இருந்தது. இவ்வுலகத் தோற்றத்தைக் குறித்துத் தொல்காப்பியத்தில் காணப்பெறும்,

> 'நிலந்தி நீர்வளி விசும்போ டைந்தும்
> கலந்த மயக்கம் உலகம்'[4]

என்ற நூற்பாவின் பகுதி ஓரளவு இதனை வலியுறுத்தும். இவ்வுலகில் காணப்பெறும் பருப்பொருள்கள் யாவும் ஐந்து பூதங்களின் சேர்க்கையே என்பதை அறிஞர்கள் உய்த்தறிவர். ஆனால், பெரும்பாலான மக்கள் இதனை அறியாது பொருள்களின் கற்பனையிலேயே தம் கருத்தினைச் செலுத்தி மயங்குவர்.

> எப்பொருள் எத்தன்மைத் தாயினும் அப்பொருள்
> மெய்ப்பொருள் காண்பது அறிவு.[5]

என்று வள்ளுவப் பெருமான் கூறியவாறு, பொருள் தோறும் உலகினர் கற்பித்துக்கொண்டு வழங்குகின்ற கற்பனைகளைக் கழித்து நின்ற உண்மையினைக் காணவேண்டும். இவ்வாறு கண்டால் இவ்வுலகத்தோற்ற உண்மைகளைக் காணலாம்; இவ்வுலகினை இயக்கிவரும் ஆண்டவன் தன்மையினையும் காணலாம்.

> அலங்களில் தோன்றும் பொய்ம்மை
> அரவெனப் பூதம் ஐந்தும்
> விலங்கிய விகாரப் பாட்டின்
> வேறுபாடு உற்ற வீக்கம்.[6]

[அலங்கல் - மாலை; அரவு - பாம்பு; விலங்கிய - தனித் தன்மையினின்றும் மாறி ஒன்றுகச் சேர்ந்த; விகாரப் பாட்டின் - விகாரப்படுதலையுடையது; வேறுபாடு உற்ற - பாகுபாடு பொருந்திய; வீக்கம் - மிக்க பிறப்பு.]

என்ற அடிகளால் மகாகவி கம்பன் இவ்வுண்மையை உய்த்தறிந்தமை தெள்ளிதிற் புலனாகும்.

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4. தொல். பொருள். நூற். 635 (இளம்).
5. குறள். 355.
6. கம்பரா. சுந்தர. காப்பு.

தொல்காப்பியப் பொருளதிகாரம் அக்கால மக்கள் வாழ்க்கையினை நன்முக ஆய்ந்து செய்யப் பெற்ற சிறந்ததொரு இலக்கணமாகும். தமிழர்களின் வாழ்வியலை வரையறை செய்து காட்டும் அந்நூலில் தமிழர்கள் வணங்கிய கடவுளைப்பற்றிய குறிப்புகள் அதிகமாகக் காணப்பெறவில்லை. காரணம், தொல்காப்பியம் ஓர் இலக்கண நூலேயன்றி சமயநூல் அன்று. எனினும், ஒரு சில நூற்பாக்களால் தமிழர்களின் வாழ்வில் ஆண்டவன் எந்த நிலையை வகித்திருந்தான் என்பதை ஒருவாறு ஊகிக்க இடம் உள்ளது.

தொல்காப்பியர் உலக வழக்கிலும் செய்யுள் வழக்கிலும் பயின்று வரும் பொருள்களை மூவகையாகப் பகுத்துப் பேசுகின்றார். அவை முதற் பொருள், கருப்பொருள், உரிப்பொருள் என்று வழங்கப்பெறுகின்றன. முதற்பொருள் நிலம், காலம் என இருவகைப்படும். ஆங்கிலத்தில் இவற்றை முறையே Space என்றும் Time என்றும் குறிப்பிடுவர். இவை இரண்டினையும் தொடர்புறுத்த இக்கால அறிவுலக மேதை ஐன்ஸ்டைன் ஒப்புநோக்குக்கொள்கை (Theory of Relativity) என்ற கொள்கையைக் கொண்டு இவ்வுலகத் தோற்றம், இயக்கம் ஆகியவைபற்றிய பல அரிய கருத்துக்களை விளக்குவர். புலனறிவிற்கு அப்பாற்பட்ட உண்மைகளை மனிதன் அறிய முடியவில்லை என்றும், அவ்வுண்மைகளை உணர்வு மூலம் தான் அறிய முடியும் என்றும் தெளிவாக உணர்த்தியுள்ளார். அறிவியலுக்கும் மெய்ப் பொருளுக்கும்—விஞ்ஞானத்திற்கும் மெய்ஞ்ஞானத்திற்கும்—இடையேயுள்ள திரை அகன்றுல்தான் இவ்வுண்மைகளை உய்த்துணர முடியும் என்றும் குறிப்பிடுகின்றார். இடம், காலம் என்ற முதற்பொருளின் அடிப்படையில் தோன்றுவது கருப் பொருளாகும். அஃது இடத்திலும் காலத்திலும் தோன்றும். தேவர், மக்கள், விலங்கு முதலியனவற்றையும் உணவு, செயல் முதலியனவற்றையும் இவை போன்ற பிறவற்றையும் கருப் பொருளாகக் கொள்வர். உரிப்பொருள் என்பது மக்களுக்குரிய பொருள்; மக்கள் ஒழுகும் ஒழுக்கத்தைப் பற்றியது.

'தானலாது உலகம் இல்லை' என்பது திருநாவுக்கரசரின் திருவாக்கு. 'அவனன்றி ஓரணுவும் அசையாது' என்பது நம் நாட்டுப் பழமொழி. பண்டைத் தமிழரின் வாழ்வில் கடவுட் கொள்கை அடிப்படையாக இருந்தது. இதனை நேர் முகத்தான் ஒரு நூற்பாவால் ஒதாது குறிப்பாற் பெறவைக்கின்றார் ஆசிரியர் தொல்காப்பியர். முதற் பொருளை விளக்க வந்த ஆசிரியர் அப்பொருளை மட்டிலும் விளக்கி யிருந்திருக்கலாம். முதற் பொருளாகிய நிலத்தைத் தமிழர்கள் முல்லை, குறிஞ்சி, மருதம், நெய்தல் என்று நான்காகப் பாகுபாடு செய்துள்ளனர் என்று சொன்னல் போதுமானது. ஆனல் தொல்காப்பியர்,

மாயோன் மேய காடுறை உலகமும்
சேயோன் மேய மைவரை உலகமும்
வேந்தன் மேய தீம்புனல் உலகமும்
வருணன் மேய பெருமணல் உலகமும்
முல்லை குறிஞ்சி மருதம் நெய்தல் எனச்
சொல்லிய முறையாற் சொல்லவும் படுமே.[7]

என்று கூறுகின்றார். நிலத்தைக் குறிக்கும்போதே அந்நிலத்து தெய்வத்தை முதலில் குறித்துள்ளார். எல்லாப் பொருள்கள் நிறைந்திருந்தாலும் தெய்வம் இன்றேல் அந்நிலம் சிறக்காது ; தெய்வ வழிபாடு இன்றேல் மக்கள் தம் வாழ்க்கையை வளம்பெற அமைத்துக் கொள்ள இயலாது என்ற குறிப்பை இலக்கண ஆசிரியர் சொல்லாமற் சொல்லி யிருப்பது எண்ணி மகிழ்வதற்குரியது.

நிலத்திற் கேற்றாற்போல் காலத்தோடு பொருந்தித் தோன்றுவது கருப்பொருள். இக்கருப்பொருளில் இயற்கைப் பொருள்களும் உள ; செயற்கைப் பொருள்களும் உள்ளன. கருப்பொருளைத் தொல்காப்பியர்,

தெய்வம் உணவே மாமரம் புள்பறை
செய்தி யாழின் பகுதியொடு தொகைஇ
அவ்வகை பிறவும் தருவென மொழிப.[8]

என்று குறிப்பிடுகின்றார். முன்னைப் பழம் பொருட்கும் முன்னைப் பழம் பொருளாய், உலகம் தோன்றுவதற்கு முன் இயற்கையிலே உளதாய், மக்களது செயல்கள் யாவற்றிற்கும் பயன் நல்கும் இறைவழிபாடு பிற செயல்களிலும் சிறந்தது என்பதை எவரும் மறுக்க முடியாது. எனவே, தொல்காப்பியர் அத்தகைய இறையை - தெய்வத்தை - முதலாவதாகக் குறித்தார். இறையின்றி எச்செயல்களும் நடைபெறு என்பது தமிழரின் சமயம் ; கடவுட் கொள்கை.

கதிரவனுல்தான் இவ்வுலக வாழ்வு விளக்கமடைகின்றது என்பதை நன்கு உணர்ந்தவர்கள் தமிழர்கள். மக்கட்கும் ஏனைய உயிர்கட்கும் வந்த வாழ்வெல்லாம் கதிரவனுல்தான் என்பதை அவர்கள் நன்கு அறிந்திருந்தனர். கதிரவன்தான் ஆற்றலின் மூலம் என்ற இக்கால அறிவியல் கொள்கையையும் அவர்கள் ஓரளவு அறிந்திருந்தனர் என்றும் கருதலாம். அது போலவே, பயிர்கட்கு இரவில் உயிர் நல்கும் திங்களையும் அமுதம் வழங்குவதாகக் கருதியிருந்தனர். பற்றினதை யெல்லாம் அழிக்கும் நெருப்பையும் அவர்கள் சிறப்பாகவே கருதியிருந்தனர். எனவே தொல்காப்பியர்,

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7. தொல். பொருள். நூற். 5 (இளம்).
8. தொல். பொருள். நூற். 20 (இளம்).

கொடிநிலே கந்தழி வள்ளி என்ற
வடுநீங்கு சிறப்பின் முதலன மூன்றும்
கடவுள் வாழித்தொடு கண்ணிய வருமே.[9]

ற்று கூறுகின்றார். உலகம், உயிர் என்ற இரண்டிற்கும் வேருகக் டவுள்' என ஒன்று உண்டு என்பதைப் பண்டைத் தமிழர்கள் அறிந் நந்தனர் என்பதற்கு இது நல்லதொரு எடுத்துக்காட்டாகும்.

உயிரில்லாத பொருள்களே அசைப்பதற்கு உயிருள்ள பொருள்கள் வை. பகலவன் முதலிய பொருள்கள் உயிரற்றவை. அவற்றை சைத்து, இயக்கி, அவற்றின் மூலம் உலகத்தையெல்லாம் இயக்குவதற்கு , பேராற்றல் வாய்ந்த உயிர்ப் பொருள் உண்மையில் இருக்கத்தான் ண்டும். அந்த உயிர்ப்பொருள்தான் 'இயவுள்' என்பது; கடவுள் ாறும் அதனைக் குறிப்பிடலாம். இயவுள் என்பது இயக்கும் பொருள்; ாவது செலுத்தும் பொருள். இப்பொருள் - இறைவன் - மனம், க்கு, காயங்கட்கும் எட்டாதது. இந்த இறைவனுக்கு நிறம் இல்லே; வம் இல்லே.

இப்படியன் இந்நிறத்தன் இவ்வண்ணத்தன்
இவன் இறைவன் என்றெழுதிக் காட்டொணுதே.[10]

ற்று கூறுவர் நாவுக்கரசப் பெருமான். அவனைக் காணவேண்டுமாயின் ன் அருளேயே கண்ணுகக் கொண்டு காண வேண்டும்.

'அவன் அருளாலே அவன்தாள் வணங்கி'[11]

பது மணிவாசகப் பெருமானின் திருவாக்கு. இத்தகைய இறைவனைத் ன்,

ஒருநாமம் ஒருருவம் ஒன்றுமிலார்க் காயிரம்
திருநாமம் பாடுநாம் தெள்ளேணம் கொட்டாமோ.[12]

று அப்பெருமான் குறிப்பிடுகின்றார். பிற்காலத்தார் இந்த இறை த்தான் ஆயிரமாயிரம் பெயர்களால் குறிப்பிட்டு வாழ்த்தி வணங்கு றனர்; பல்வேறு சாத்திரங்களையும் படைத்துக்கொண்டு அவனை ர்கின்றனர். இத்தகைய ஆண்டவனைக் காணவே இன்றைய அறி லும் முயன்று வருகின்றது. ஐன்ஸ்டைன் போன்ற அறிவியல் மேதை ள் இத்துறையில் ஆராய்ந்து உண்மை கண்டு வருகின்றனர். தமிழர் கண்ட சமயத்தையே இக்கால அறிவியல் ஆழ்ந்து ஆய்கின்றது.

எப்பொருள் எத்தன்மைத் தாயினும் அப்பொருள்
மெய்ப் பொருள் காண்பது அறிவு.[13]

பது வள்ளுவர் வாய்மொழி யன்றே?

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9. தொல். பொருள். நூற். 85. (இளம்).
10. தேவாரம் அடங்கன் முறை, 7203 (திருநாவுக்கரசர்).
11. திருவாசகம், சிவபுராணம், வரி 18.
12. திருவாசகம், திருத்தெள்ளேணம், 1.
13. குறள், 355.

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Sri Rajendra vihara Pandey	...	Student of Ancient Indian History & Archaeology, doing Research on " History of Kosala."
Sri P. Adeswara Rao	...	Research student in the Department of Hindi, Sri Venkateswara University.
Sri N. Subbu Reddiar	...	Lecturer, in Tamil, Sri Venkateswara University College. Author of a number of books in Tamil.

NEWS AND NOTES

1. *Ph.D. Work in Departments:*

DEPARTMENT OF TELUGU

Subject of Investigation.	*Year of Registration.*
Study of Telugu compound ...	1960
A critical study of Errapragada's works ...	1960
A Descriptive Analysis of Nannaya's usages ...	1961
Dvipada in Telugu literature ...	1961
Historical grammar of Inscriptional Telugu (based on 12th, 13th and 14th century inscriptions) ...	1962
Deśi movement in Telugu Literature and the part played by Palkuruki Somana ...	1962
Ballad poetry in Telugu ...	1963
A study of the language of Nannechodas Kumārasambhavamu.	1963

DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY

Sources of moral ideas ...	1960
" Time " (A study in the Metaphysics of Time) ...	1960
A comparative study of Aristotle's organan and Nyāya-vaiśeṣika systems ...	1961

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

Āndhradeśa under the East India Company ...	1960
History of the Nellore District ...	1961
History of the Cuddapah District ...	1962
History of the Guntur District ...	1962
The Nawabs of Cuddapah and Kurnool ...	1962
Vijayanagar architecture of Rayalaseema ...	1963
The Temples of Āndhradeśa ...	1963
Social, Economic and Cultural life in the Deccan upto 1300 A.D.	1963

DEPARTMENT OF SANSKRIT

Citsukha's contribution to Advaita ...	1959
Contribution of South India to Navya-nyāya with a critical edition of Tarkasāra by Venkata Budha ...	1961
Concept of Abhāva in Indian philosophy ...	1961
Kavi-Sahrdaya relation according to Sanskrit poetics ...	1961
Technique of Sanskrit drama ...	1962
Reality of the universe according to Dvaita Vedānta ...	1963
Evolution of Sanskrit metres ...	1963
A comparative study of the interpretation of the Pāṇini sūtras by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa ...	1963

DEPARTMENT OF HINDI

Bhushan and his literature	...	1960
Vrindh and his literature	...	1960
Language of Keshave	...	1961
Comparative study of Hindi and Telugu Vaishnava literature (15th & 16th Centuries)	...	1961
Comparative study of Hindi and Telugu romantic poetry	...	1961
Keshave and Srinath: A comparative study	...	1961
Cultural background of Rītī age poetry	...	1962
Expression and Technique in Rītī age poetry	...	1963
Cultural study of Rāmācaritamānas	...	1963

2. *Books and Papers Published:*

DEPARTMENT OF TELUGU

Sri T. Kodandaramaiah:

1. Telugu nighantuvulu—contributed to Andhra Prabha Sunday Literary Supplement.
2. A critical edition of Sri Kālahastimāhātmyamu of Durjati Maha kavi 1963.
3. Tenugu-marugulu. A collection of essays 1963.

Sri K. Suryanarayana. Lecturer has published a critical article on Rājagopāla vilāsamu in Sāhiti (ed) 1963.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

Dr. M. Rama Rao, Professor has published a paper on "Early Chalukyan Temples—A review" in the journal of Indian History, Trivandrum, August 1963.

Dr. V. N. Hari Rao, Lecturer has read the article " Vaishnavism in the South India in the modern period" in the Seminar on Indian social history held at Kodaikanal in July 1963.

Sri V. M. Reddy, Lecturer was awarded the Degree of Ph.D. for his thesis *Cambodian Independence Movement* 1939—1955.

DEPARTMENT OF SANSKRIT

The Department under III five year plan (U.G.C.) has undertaken to edit Vākyapadīya with an English translation.

Critical editions of the following also are undertaken:

1. Rasa sudhānidhī
2. Sāhitya sudhāsindhu
3. Kṛiṣna vilāsa of Puṇyakoṭi. (Ready for the press.)
4. Adhikaraṇa ratnamālā

5. Bhagavadjjuka with an unpublished commentary and an English translation.

Books published by the Department of Sanskrit:—

1. Kālidāsasamīkṣā ... A collection of papers read at the Kalidasa Seminar conducted by the Department in the year 1961.
2. Rūpakasamīkṣā ... A collection of papers read at the Seminar on Drama and Dramaturgy conducted by the Department in the year 1962.

S. V. University Oriental Research Institute:—

The Vth volume of the Half yearly journal of the Institute has been brought out.

The Institute has also undertaken the critical editions of the entire available texts of Pāncarātrāgamas.

The preparation of the Classified Descriptive Catalogue of the entire collection of the manuscripts in the library is going on.

To mark the completion of the twenty-fifth year of the journal, Silver Jubilee Number of the Journal is proposed to be brought out in 1965.

DEPARTMENT OF HINDI

U. G. C. Grant for Linguistic Survey:

The University Grants Commission has approved the scheme for *A Linguistic Survey of Hindi knowing population in Chittoor District* submitted by Dr. C. B. Rawat, M.A., PH.D., LL.B., L.T., Lecturer in Hindi, S. V. University College and has granted Rs. 2000/- for the first year. Dr. Rawat proposes to do his field work during the first three years and the last two years will be utilized for analyzing the data collected in the field work.

OBITUARY NOTES

Dr. C. Kunhan Raja

Dr. Kunhan Raja suddenly met with his death on 21st October 1963. Born on the 18th September 1895 in a royal family, he was educated in the Maharajas college, Eranakulam, and Presidency College, Madras and took his Doctorate Degree from the University of Oxford.

He worked as the Head of the Department of Sanskrit in the University of Madras for a period of twenty three years and retired as the Professor of Sanskrit from the Andhra University, a post which he held after returning from Teheran.

The range of Dr. Raja's activities is very wide and his presence in every literary association throughout the country is greatly felt. He could handle Sanskrit prose and poetry with equal ease.

As the Curator of the Adyar Library, Dr. Raja did commendable work. He was a member of the Advisory Board of the S.V. Oriental Institute, Tirupati, for a long time. He was also the Chairman and Member of the Board of studies of Sanskrit in the S. V. University, Tirupati.

Dr. Raghuvira

Dr. Raghuvira suddenly met his end in a car accident on the 14th May 1963. Born on December 30 in 1902 at Rawalpindi, he was educated at Lahore, took his Doctrate degree from London University and his D.Litt. from Utrecht (Holland). Working as a Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit in Sanātana Dharma College at Lahore, he started his 'International Academy of Indian Culture' of which he was the Life Long Director.

After shifting the centre of his activities to Nagpur, he determined to consolidate his strength and energy to work in the direction of replacing English with the National languages taking all the terminology from Sanskrit as it happened to be the mother of all languages. He also gave a plan for a comprehensive Dictionary for each branch of modern science. In collobo-ration with scholars in India and abroad, he also formulated a *śatapiṭaka* scheme.

He travelled extensively and as far as the manuscripts and relics of the Greater India are concerned, his Academy possesses a vast and unique collection. He did good work in the Constituent Assembly in 1947 and then in the Upper House of the Indian Parliament. He resigned his membership of the Parliament in 1961 and became the President of the Indian Jana Sangh in 1962.

As a staunch and fearless advocate of Sanskrit, Dr. Raghuvira was held in esteem by even those who did not share his views. The field of Indology lost a valuable savant in the demise of Dr. Raghuvira.

Helmuth Von Glasenapp.

Dr. Helmuth Von Glasenapp, Emeritus professor of Indology and Comparative Religion in the University of Tuebingen, got unfortunately involved in a traffic accident and died of wounds on the 25th of June 1963.

Born on the 8th of September 1891, in Berlin, he had his education at the Universities of Tuebingen, Munich. Berlin and Bonn and obtained his Ph.D. Degree at the University of Bonn for his Thesis *Die Lehre Von Karman in der Philosophie der Jainas*. He was a Lecturer in Bonn and Berlin and a Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Koenigsberg. He also occupied the Chair of Indology and Comparative Religion in the University of Tuebingen where from he retired from his official duties in 1959.

Dr. Von Glasenapp being an ardent student of Indology, equipped himself with sufficient knowledge of Hindu, Jain and Buddhist works. He was a versatile writer who understood India, her people and culture in the right way.

Publications under the auspices of the Department of Sanskrit.

1. KĀLIDĀSA SAMĪKṢĀ

(Proceedings of the Seminar on Kālidāsa)

Contains three Presidential speeches, two short talks in Sanskrit and six research papers.

Price Rs. 4/-

2. RŪPAKA SAMĪKṢĀ

(Proceedings of the Seminar on Sanskrit Drama and Dramaturgy)

This Volume contains speeches by Mahāmahopādhyāya Sri N. S. Anantakrishna Sastri and Paṇḍitarāja D. T. Tatacharya in addition to the twelve research papers.

Price Rs. 4/-

In the Press:

3. VEDA SAMĪKṢĀ

(Proceedings of the Vedic Seminar)

Copies can be had from:

THE REGISTRAR,
Sri Venkateswara University,
TIRUPATI,
(Andhra Pradesh).